YEAR.....1943.

FILE NO. 1-P/43. (1) COL. NO. 1+2

Papers regarding the formation of Provinces on Linguistic Bases.

NAIDLF003825 94 Box No-57

Subject.

Previous References.

Later References.

C. 43

C. 44.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

blanked).
32—688 (S & P) MFP —(6352/A/M-363)—8-12-43—25,09,000.

YEAR.....1948.

FILE NO. 1-P/48. (1) COL. NO. 1+2

Papers regarding the formation of Provinces on Linguistic Bases.

Subject.

Previous References.	Later References.
	C. 43 ~~C. 44.~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

searched).
2—688 (S & P) MFP —(6862/A/M-863)—3-12-43—25,09,000.

File No. 1-P/48. Col. No. 1.

	From.	To.	Date.
1.	Shri Subba Rao.	Dr. R.P.	3-1-48.
2.	Shri S.Nijalingappa.	,,	25-1-48.
3.	Shri S.K.Ganguly,	,,	25-2-48.
4.	Shri G.V.Subba Rao.	,,	11-3-48.
5.	Shri B.P.Poddar.	,,	15-3-48.
6.	Shri S.K. ~~Rxxiix~~ Sinha.	,,	16-3-48.
7.	Shri Chakradhar.	Shri Srikrishna Sinha.	--
8.	,,	Shri Nand Kumar.	26-3-48.
9.	,,	,,	,,
10.	Shri S.K.Ganguly.	,,	27-3-48.
11.	Shri Nand Kumar	Shri S.K.Sinha.	29-3-48.
12.	Shri Nand Kumar.	Shri S.K.Ganguly.	,,
13.	Shri S.K.Ganguly.	Shri Nand Kumar.	31-3-48.
14.	--	Dr. R.P.	3-4-48.
15.	Shri Nand Kumar.	Shri S.K.Ganguly.	,,
16.	Shri R.S.Pande.	Shri Nand Kumar.	,,
17.	The Sarpanch, Village Panchayat, Umbargaon.	Dr. R.P.	6-4-48.
18.	The President, Kopargaon Town Municipality.	,,	9-4-48.
19.	Shri R.S.Pande.	Shri Nand Kumar.	10-4-48.
20.	Shri G.V.Subbarao.	Dr. R.P.	17-4-48.
21.	Shri Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya.	,,	30-4-48.
22.	Shri K.P.Saxena.	Dr. R.P.	28-5-48.
23.	Mr. ~~Shri~~ K.J.Jacob.	,,	3-6-48.
24.	Dr. R.P.	Secy., C.A.	24-6-48.
25.	,,	Shri K.J.Jacob.	13-6-48.
26.	Shri S.K.Patil.	Dr. R.P.	15-6-48.
27.	Dr. R.P.	Shri S.K.Patil,	23-6-48.
28.	Shri K.M.Munshi.	Dr. R.P.	25-6-48.
29.	Shri Tekumalla RamachandraRao.	,,	2-7-48.
30.	Press Note issued by the secretariat of the C.A. on ..		..21-7-48.
31.	COPY OF THE LETTER FROM SHRI DARAB CURSETJI DRIVER, PRESIDENT, R COAL CONSUMERS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA TO DR. R.P., PRESIDENT, C.A. ON 24TH JULY, 1948.		

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32.	Dr. R.P.	Shri S.K.Dar.	26-7-48.
33.	Shri S.K.Dar. (Its reply from Dr. R.P. sent on 2-8-48 attached with it.)	Dr. R.P.	28-7-48.
34.	Press Note issued by the Secretariat of the C.A.		
35.	Shri R.R.Dwikar.	Dr. R.P.	5-8-48.
36.	--	,,	10-8-48.
37.	Shri Ramachandra Murty.	,,	11-8-48.
~~Sxxxx~~ 38.	Shri Chimanlal C. Shah.	,,	6-8-48.
39.	Dr. R.P.	Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gaur.	10-8-48.
40.	,,	--	,,
41.	Municipal President, Akallkot.	Dr. R.P.	12-8-48.
42.	Shri Sri Ram Jha.	,,	12/13-8-48.
43.	Shri Mannarayan Agarwal.	,,	25-8-48.
44.	Press Communique issued by the C.A. of India.		
45.	Dr. R.P.	Secy., C.A.	29-8-48.
46.	Shri K.V.Padmanabhan.	Dr. R.P.	30-8-48.
47.	Travancore Prime Minister.	,,	8-9-48.
48.	Dr. R.P.	Shri Bishwanath Das.	18-9-48.
49.	Dr. R.P.	Shri K.M.Munshi.	11-10-48.
50.	Shri Panna Lall.	Dr. R.P.	13-10-48.
51.	Shri K.M.Munshi.	,,	15-10-48.
52.	Tatti President Municipality Lakshmeshvar.	,,	27-11-48.
53.	Shri Jagat Narain.	,,	30-11-48.
54.	Dr. R.P.	Dr. Panna Lall.	20-12-48.
55.	,,	Shri S.K.Dar.	,,
56.	,,	Secy., C.A.	,,
57.	Dr. Panna Lall.	Shri Chakradhar.	16-2-49.
58.	READJUSTMENT OF WEST BENGAL BOUNDARY, CHIEFLY ON LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BASIS.		12-3-49.
59.	Shri A.L.Narasimha Sarma.	Dr. R.P.	16-3-49.
60.	MEMORANDUM ON AMALGAMATION OF BENGALI-SPEAKING TRACTS IN BIHAR AND ORISSA WITH WEST BENGAL.		

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

Recd. at ___ H. ___ M.

From ___

To ___

Sent at ___ H. ___ M.

To ___

By ___

Office Stamp

O IC NARSAPUR 23-44 DOCTOR RAJENDRA PRASAD CONGRESS PRESIDENT NEW DELHI ==

RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST REFERENCE BACK PATTABHI COMMITTEE CASES OF KARNATAK KERALA MAHRASHTRA PROVINCES FUTURE OF BOMBAY MADRAS NEWLY MERGED STATES TERRITORIES BOUNDARIES PRINCIPLE AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES RIGHTS FOR DETAILED INVESTIGATION BEFORE NEXT SESSION CONSAMBLY ===

SUBBARAO SECRETARY LINGUISTIC LEAGUE ===

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

25/11/48

TO

THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE
OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
NEW DELHI.

FROM

SRI. S. NIJALINGAPPA,
PRESIDENT, KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE
AND
MEMBERS OF THE DEPUTATION ON BEHALF OF THE
K.P.C.C. AND THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND OF THE PRO-
VINCIAL LEGISLATURES FROM KARNATAKA.

RESPECTED SIRS,

RE: <u>THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF KARNATAK.</u>

WE ARE MAKING THIS REPRESENTATION IN PURSUANCE OF THE SOLEMN RESOLUTION (COPY OF WHICH HAS BEEN ALREADY SUBMITTED) OF A SPECIAL MEETING HELD AT HUBLI ON 14-1-48 OF THE KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES OF BOMBAY, MADRAS, AND COORG. WE ARE APPROACHING YOU IN THE HOPE THAT THIS FINAL EFFORT OF OURS WOULD BRING HOME TO YOU THAT THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF THE KARNATAKA PROVINCE IS OF URGENT NECESSITY AND THAT THE PROBLEM DOES NOT BROOK ANY DELAY.

WE WISH TO BRING TO YOUR NOTICE THAT KARNATAK HAS FOR NEARLY 3 DECADES LOOKED UPON THE FORMATION OF THE VARIOUS SCATTERED AND DISMEMBERED PARTS OF THE KANNADA SPEAKING PEOPLE IN INDIA INTO A SINGLE PROVINCE AS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE NEXT ONLY TO THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S FREEDOM.

AND DURING ALL THIS PERIOD THE CONGRESS AND THE KARNATAK P.C.C. HAVE RIGHTLY AND REPEATEDLY ENCOURAGED THE PEOPLE IN THIS ASPIRATION AND HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME MADE PROMISES AND GIVEN PLEDGES FOR ITS FULFILMENT IMMEDIATELY ON THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM. THE NEHRU COMMITTEE RECOMMENDED A SEPARATE PROVINCE FOR KARNATAK IN 1928. TEN YEARS LATER, IN 1938 THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE, AT ITS WARDHA MEETING, PASSED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:-

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"HAVING HEARD THE VIEWS OF THE DEPUTATIONS OF THE ANDHRA P.C.C., THE ANDHRA MAHASABA, THE KARNATAK UNIFICATION COMMITTEE, THE KARNATAK P.C.C. AND THE KERALA P.C.C. ON THE QUESTION OF THE REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES IN INDIA ON A LINGUISTIC BASIS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, THIS COMMITTEE DECLARES THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE ON LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATURE ON THE SEPARATION OF THE KARNATAK PROVINCE, WERE PASSED WITH THE PREVIOUS SANCTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE AND THE FULL APPROVAL OF THIS COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE DESIRES TO ASSURE THE PEOPLE OF THE AREAS CONCERNED THAT THE SOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN AS A PART OF THE FUTURE SCHEME OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, AS SOON AS THE CONGRESS HAS THE POWER (also) TO DO, AND CALLS UPON THE PEOPLE OF THESE AREAS TO DESIST FROM ANY FURTHER AGITATION IN THIS BEHALF, WHICH MAY DIVERT THE ATTENTION FROM THE MAIN ISSUE NOW BEFORE THE COUNTRY."

SINCE THEN IN 1947 THE LEGISLATURES OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY HAVE AGAIN REITERATED THE SAME REQUEST WHICH HAS ALSO BEEN ~~PASSED~~ (2) repeated BY THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK IN MEETINGS and (3) ~~OF~~ (4) CONFERENCES HELD FROM TIME TO TIME.

AND WHEN (5) the MOMENT FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THESE PAST PLEDGES HAS ARRIVED AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY IS BEING FORGED THE RECENT PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE EFFECT THAT WHILST THE FORMATION OF ~~THE~~ (6) ANDHRA ~~AS~~ (7) is EASY AND WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED SOON THAT OF KARNATAK AND OTHER PROVINCES WAS MORE COMPLICATED AND INVOLVED FURTHER INVESTIGATION, HAS CAUSED MUCH PAIN AND DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK.

WE EARNESTLY IMPLORE YOU TO RECONSIDER THIS MATTER. THE QUESTION OF A SEPARATE PROVINCE IS IMPORTANT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF DAY TO DAY EXISTENCE FOR THE

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SUPPRESSED PEOPLE OF KARNATAK. FREEDOM BY ITSELF MEANS NOTHING IF IT CANNOT ALSO SHOW THE MUCH NEEDED CHANGE AND IMPROVEMENT IN ALL THAT GOES TO MAKE UP THE DAILY LIFE OF THE MASSES OF THESE AREAS. ALREADY IN THE COMPOSITE AREAS OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY THE VOICES OF THEIR REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LEGISLATURES COUNT FOR LITTLE OR NOTHING. BUT WITH AND UPON THE IMMEDIATE SEPARATION OF ANDHRA THE DAY-TO-DAY ADMINISTRATION IN THESE AREAS WILL BECOME IMPOSSIBLE PARTICULARLY IN THE LARGE AND SCATTERED BORDER AREAS OF KARNATAK, IF KARNATAKA IS ALSO NOT IMMEDIATELY SEPARATED. AREAS LIKE NILGIRIS, SOUTH KANARA, THE KANNADA AREAS IN THE DISTRICTS OF COIMBATORE, SALEM AND BELLARY CANNOT CONTINUE THEIR EXISTENCE IN THE RESIDUARY PROVINCE OF TAMILNAD WHERE THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK WILL HAVE NO VOICE AT ALL. OUR VITAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS THAT OF EDUCATION, FOOD, IRRIGATION, INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT CANNOT BE PLANNED OR TACKLED. THIS WILL BECOME POSSIBLE ONLY IF AND WHEN WE HAVE A PROVINCE OF OUR OWN.

IT IS NO DOUBT, A MATTER OF GRATIFICATION TO US THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT HAS ACCEPTED GENERALLY THE PRINCIPLE OF FORMING LINGUISTIC PROVINCES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN MADE BETWEEN ANDHRA AND KARNATAK. IF AT ALL ANY PRIORITY WERE TO BE GIVEN IT SHOULD GO TO THAT WHICH SUFFERED AND IS SUFFERING MOST BY REASON OF LONG DISMEMBERMENT AND DISINTEGRATION. BUT INSTEAD A STEP IS CONTEMPLATED WHICH WILL MAKE THE LOT OF OUR PEOPLE WORSE THAN WHAT IT IS TODAY.

THE CONGRESS HAD UNDER THE WISE GUIDANCE AND LEADERSHIP OF GANDHIJI THE FORESIGHT TO FORM LINGUISTIC PROVINCES I 1920 FOR ITS OWN ORGANISATION AND FOR THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. THIS FORESIGHT HAS BEEN AMPLY REWARDED BUT THE LOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE FORMATION OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES FOR PURPOSES OF ADMINISTRATION IS YET TO COME. WE REGRET TO NOTE THAT OUR EFFORTS IN THIS BEHALF SHOULD BE MISUNDER-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

STOOD IN SOME QUARTERS AS FISSIPAROUS. WE WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT WE BELIEVE WITH LARGE NUMBERS OF EMINENT CONGRESSMEN THAT IT WOULD BE A GREAT ACT OF CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP TO FORM LINGUISTIC PROVINCES IMMEDIATELY SO THAT THEY MAY DEVELOP TO THEIR FULL STATURE AS LIVE UNITS OF THE INDIAN UNION.

WE ARE NOT UNMINDFUL OF THE GREAT TROUBLES THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE IS NOW FACING. ~~THROUGH~~ SUCH AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS ARE BOUND TO PERSIST FOR SOME TIME TO COME IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER. BUT WE ASSURE YOU THAT (a the) WORK INVOLVED IN THE FORMATION OF KARNATAK WILL NOT COME IN THE WAY OF THESE LARGER PROBLEMS ANY MORE THAN THE FORMATION OF ANDHRA. IN FACT WE BELIEVE THAT A SPEEDY SOLUTION OF THESE TWO LOCAL PROBLEMS WILL ENTHUSE THESE PEOPLE AND HELP TO FORM STRONG AND HOMOGENOUS PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AND BE A SOURCE OF POSITIVE STRENGTH AND SUPPORT TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE RATHER THAN THE DISSATISFIED PEOPLES AND DISUNITED AND WEAK GOVERNMENTS NOW OBTAINING IN THESE COMPOSITE AREAS.

IN THIS CONTEXT THEREFORE THE STATEMENT IN QUESTION HAS CAUSED BITTER AND KEEN RESENTMENT IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK. VARIOUS MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES HAVE PROTESTED AGAINST IT. THE KARNATAK MEMBERS OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATURE ON 15-10-1947 AND OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE ON 4-12-1947 HAVE IN THEIR MEMORANDA TO THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTER(s) AND OTHERS CLEARLY POINTED OUT THE IMMEDIATE NECESSITY AND URGENCY OF THE PROBLEM. A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. AND OF THE KARNATAK MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES OF BOMBAY. MADRAS AND COORG HAVE REVIEWED THE WHOLE SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE ARISING OUT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT. THE RESOLUTION IS BEFORE YOU. WE BEG OF YOU THAT THE FORMATION OF KARNATAK SHOULD BE TAKEN UP

SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THAT OF ANDHRA. WE ARE NOT FOR PUTTING OFF EITHER. FOR THAT WILL CREATE FURTHER UNNECESSARY BITTERNESS IN OUR RESPECTIVE AREAS. ONCE THE PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN ACCEPTED IT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF ALL THAT IT SHOULD BE PUT THROUGH WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE DELAY.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH WE HAVE BROUGHT TO YOUR NOTICE WE HOPE YOU WOULD BE PLEASED TO GRANT OUR REQUEST FOR THE FORMATION OF OUR PROVINCE SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ANDHRA. FAILING THIS, WE ~~REQUEST~~ regret, WE SHALL HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SEEK YOUR PERMISSION IN TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE K.P.C.C. (14-1-48) TO RESIGN FROM OUR SEATS IN THE LEGISLATURES CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL.

YOURS SINCERELY,

NEW DELHI,
25TH JANUARY, 1948.

President K.P.C.C. & M.C.A.

2 Nijalingappa M.L.A & Minister of Agriculture, Bombay.
3. S. Bhandarkar M.L.A. Nilgiris, Madras.
4. B. Ananthasayanam M.L.A. Bellary. Madras.
5 K. R. Karanth. M.L.A., Ex-Minister, Madras. (South Kanara and BOMBAY.)
6 V. V. Patil. M.L.A. Dharwar.
7 R. R. Diwakar. M.C.A. Hubli.
8 S. P. Gaonkar M.L.A. Belgaum and Dy. Speaker Bombay Legislative Assembly.
9 S. V. Angadi M.L.A. Kanara, Parliamentary Secy. Bombay
10 B. N. Munavalli M.C.A. Deccan States.

(K. B. Gowdar)
(B. Anantachar)
(S. P. Gaonkar)
(S. V. Angadi)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, HUBLI.

COPY OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE SPECIAL GENERAL BODY MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. HELD AT HUBLI ON 14TH JAN. 1948.

RESOLUTION NO. 2.

"THIS SPECIAL GENERAL BODY OF THE K.P.C.C. TO WHICH THE MEMBERS OF THE MADRAS & BOMBAY LEGISLATURES AND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND OTHER INVITEES ARE INVITED HAS REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN ALL PARTS OF KARNATAKA ARISING OUT OF THE REACTION ~~OF~~ TO THE STATEMENT OF THE PREMIER PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ON THE 27TH OF NOVEMBER '47 ON THE FLOOR OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT REGARDING THE FORMATION OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES. WHILE IT NOTES WITH APPROVAL THAT THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES, THE FACT THAT ANDHRA ONLY WILL BE RECOGNISED AS A PROVINCE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT DISSATISFACTION, FRUSTRATION AND RESENTMENT THROUGHOUT KARNATAKA. THIS MEETING IS DEFINITELY OF OPINION THAT SUCH DISCRIMINATION IS SURE TO ACT DETRIMENTALLY TO OUR PROVINCE WHICH HAS ALREADY SUFFERED BY DISINTEGRATION AND THAT THE GROUNDS URGED FOR PUTTING OFF THE CLAIM OF KARNATAKA TO BE RECOGNISED IMMEDIATELY AS A PROVINCE ARE UNCONVINCING AND URGES THAT THE KARNATAK PROVINCE SHOULD BE FORMED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ANDHRA AND ~~UNUMERATE~~ KARNATAKA AS A PROVINCE IN THE CONSTITUTION THAT IS BEING FRAMED.

THIS MEETING HAS NOTED WITH GREAT CONCERN THE GROWING FEELING OF THE RESTLESSNESS AT THE DELAY BY THE UNION GOVERNMENT IN RESPECTING THE CLAIM OF KARNATAKA AS A SEPARATE PROVINCE AND IS EMPHATICALLY OF THE VIEW THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LEGISLATURES WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION NOR FUNCTION AS SUCH AS LONG AS THEIR CLAIM IS NOT RECOGNISED AND KARNATAKA IS NOT FORMED ALONG WITH ANDHRA. IT, THEREFORE, URGES THE HIGH COMMAND TO GIVE DUE ATTENTION TO THIS VITAL PROBLEM AND MAKE A DECLARATION FORTHWITH THAT KARNATAKA COULD BE FORMED AS PROVINCE OF THE UNION ALONG WITH ANDHRA WITHOUT MAKING ANY DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PROVINCES. IT FURTHER RESPECTFULLY WISHES TO BRING TO THE NOTICE OF THE HIGH COMMAND THAT IN CASE THIS LEGITIMATE DEMAND IS NOT CONCEDED AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, THE MEMBERS FROM KARNATAKA IN ALL THE LEGISLATURES, CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO REQUEST THE HIGH COMMAND TO ALLOW THEM TO RESIGN FROM THOSE BODIES AS FIRST STEP.

THE MEETING AT THE SAME TIME ASSURES THE HIGH COMMAND AND THE COUNTRY THAT IT IS QUITE ALIVE TO THE GREAT PRESSING PROBLEMS THAT ARE ENGAGING THE ATTENTION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT THEIR DECISION IN BEHALF OF THE FORMATION OF THEIR OWN PROVINCE DOES NOT IN ANY WAY AFFECT THEIR DETERMINATION TO STAND BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH THOSE OTHER PROBLEMS.

THIS MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. ~~AUTHORISES~~ AUTHORISES THE PRESIDENT TO APPOINT A COMMITTEE TO TAKE ALL STEPS IN THIS RESPECT INCLUDING THE REPRESENTATION OF ALL MATTERS IN FURTHERANCE OF THE ABOVE RESOLUTION TO THE A.I.C.C., THE WORKING COMMITTEE, THE UNION GOVERNMENT AND TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY."

File No. (11) 1947-49

Collection No.

1-7-49

12

YEAR.....1947-49.

FILE NO. 10-C/47-49. COL. NO. 1.

Sub:- Constituent Assembly of India, Publicity.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Previous References.	Later References.

C.19

(Final) MVP—(6888/A/M-887) 8-7-45—25,00,000.

FILE NO. 10-C/47. COL. NO. 1. (12)

SRL. NO.	FROM.	TO.	DATE.
2.	Shri Rajgopalacharia.	Dr. R.P.	6-2-47.
3.	SPECIAL RADIO-DOCUMENTARY REVIEWING THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY PROGRAMME.		22-4-47.
4.	Dr. R.P.	Secy., C.A.	28.4.47.
5.	Shri Banshidhar Mishra.	Dr. R.P.	28-4-47.
6.	Shri H.V.R.Iengar.	H.P.	,,
7.	XXX CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA, NOTIFICATION.		19-8-47.
8.	Dr. R.P.	Shri K.S.Venkataramani.	10-5-48.)))
9.	Shri K.S.Venkataramanikini.	Dr. R.P.	29-4-48.)
10.	PRESS COMMUNIQUE.		29.6.48
11.	PRESS NOTE.	16-7-48.	~~16-6-48x~~
12.	PRESS NOTE.		13-10-48.
13.	C.A. OF INDIA, NOTIFICATION.		2-8-48.
14.	PRESS NOTE.	~~x9x4x47x~~	9-4-489.
15.	Press Note.		14-4-49.
16.	Press Note.		22.4.49.
17.	Press Note.	~~16x5x49~~.	16-5-49.
18.	Press Communique.		25-6-49.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

MEMBER OF COUNCIL
INDUSTRIES & SUPPLIES

(17) 7 2

Action has been taken
file this
9-2
pl

6.2.47

My dear Rajen Babu

Please see Chundrigar's
latest note & the points
it expresses on the ground
of the applicant being
a Muslim concern.
The members being
Shaukat Hayat Ex Ministers
& Mrs. I feel you should

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

4 (15)

22.4.47

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

For favour of publication.

3

Special Radio-Documentary Reviewing the Constituent Assembly Programme.

1. On the 27th April, 1947, from 8.30 to 9 P.M. All India Radio, Delhi, will broadcast a radio-documentary on the work so far done in the first two sessions of the Constituent Assembly of India. The documentary will contain recorded excerpts of speeches made during some of the important debates in the Assembly including recorded extracts from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's historic speech on the Objectives Resolution.

The programme will be presented by Melville De Mellow, already known to listeners for his eye-witness descriptions of the opening of the Constituent Assembly, the Asian Relations Conference and the Indian Science Congress. The Constituent Assembly broadcast will be radiated on 338.6, 60.48, 41.02, 25.36, 31.30, 48.47, 41.44, 25.27 and 41.15 meters.

2. With effect from the 4th May, A.I.R. Delhi will also be broadcasting a weekly review of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. This item will be on the air every Sunday morning at 8.30 A.M. on 338.6, 41.15, 31.02 and 25.36 meters. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, herself a member of the Constituent Assembly, will inaugurate this series of Weekly Reviews.

G/22.4.47
400 copies.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Urgent

(16)

Secretary
Constituent Assembly
of India.

Dear Sir,

Kindly reach
the attached to
the hands of the President
Rajendra ji as soon
as possible.

Yours Sincerely
Nagendra Rao
Secretary.

22-4-47

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~17~~ 6 28.4.47 4

This is a complaint from Sri Algu Rai Sastri that the proceedings of the Assembly have not been supplied to the members in Hindustani and even the speeches delivered in Hindustani have been published in the reports in their English version. He makes certain suggestions for timely publication of proceedings in Hindustani. This should be considered. The Secretary will please have a talk with the Hindi member and explain the position. He wants to bring this to the notice of the House - I hope it will not be necessary.

Rajendra Prasad
28/4

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

आवरण पृ

(18) 7

28.4.47

5

प्रकाशक महोदय,

इस विज्ञान परिषत् की जो कार्यवाही आप लोगों के पास छपकर पहुँची है वह अंग्रेजी में ही है। हमारे हिन्दुस्तानी के भाषणों का भी अंग्रेजी के अनुवाद ही हमें छपकर मिला है, अंग्रेजी रिपोर्टरों ने हिन्दुस्तानी भाषण की रिपोर्ट हिन्दुस्तानी में हम लोगों को दी थी जो हमने उनका लेखोपन भी किया था।

हिन्दुस्तानी के प्रति यह उदासीनता बहुत दुखदीय है।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि अब आप इस बात के लिये कोशिश करें कि मैं परिषत् के भाषण ही अंग्रेजी में छपें। इसके लिये

१. कार्यवाही हिन्दुस्तानी में भी छापी जाय।

२. एक्सेंट हिन्दुस्तानी में भी उपलब्ध हो।

३. जो कुछ कार्यवाही छपा होती है यदि वह प्रधानाचार्य विद्यालयों के अध्यापकों के अध्यापिकाओं के पास भेजी जाय। या किसी प्रकार इस अंग्रेजी के बिक्री पर छापी जाय तो उसमें अधिकांश पूरा विवरण छापने की व्यवस्था हो - ऐसा न हो कि विद्यालयों या उपकरण के लिये जिम्मेदार कुछ व्यक्तियों की

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इच्छा पर यह निर्भर हो कि वह जो चाहे छापे - जो चाहे छोड़ दे। स्वयं के क्रेडिट या इस पार्टी के लिये निश्चय ही यही कोई विशेष 'प्रचारात्मक-संभावित' विषय तथा घटनायें प्रचारार्थ जारी करे।

बड़ी कृपा होगी यदि आप मेरे सुझावों को शीघ्र ही पूरा करने की चेष्टा और व्यवस्था करेंगे।

आपका
केलप्पन नायर

22.4.49

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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श्री अध्यक्ष महोदय,
विधान परिषद्, दिल्ली

श्रीमान्,

इस परिषद् की कार्यवाही जो अभी है, वह अंग्रेजी में छपकर हम सब पहुंची है। हिन्दुस्तानी में कोई कार्यवाही छपकर हम सब नहीं पहुंची है। वे भाषण जो हिन्दुस्तानी में हुये थे, अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद करके छापकर हमारे पास भेजे गये हैं।

अंग्रेजी अंग्रेजों में ही छपकर बटना है, हिन्दुस्तानी में नहीं। हमारे में कुछ सज्जन ऐसे हैं, जो अंग्रेजी भाषा का ज्ञान बिलकुल नहीं रखते हैं।

मेरा आपसे विनीत निवेदन है कि परिषद् की कार्यवाही जो अंग्रेजी हिन्दुस्तानी में छापी जाय।

आज्ञाकारी
[illegible]

२८.४.४६

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

...

10

C-19

With reference to the papers below, I spoke to Mr. Algu Rai Sastri and explained to him that the delay in publishing the Hindustani version of the proceedings is due to the fact that we were not able till recently to get the full complement of Translators required. In particular, we had found great difficulty in recruiting a Chief Translator, and the post has only just been filled up. Mr. Sastri appreciated the point but said that it would satisfy several members of the House if he were allowed to ask the question and the President gave a reply in the above terms.

(H.V.R.Iengar)
28-4-47.

H. P.

PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
Recd. on 29 APR 1947
No. 766/47 POA

The point was raised by Shri Algurajji and a reply given to him by the President during the last sitting sitting of the C. A. These may be filed now

Chakravarti
17/5

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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New Bengal Association.
27-B Chittaranjan Avenue.
Calcutta 13.
February 25, 1948.

Hon'ble
Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
President, Constutuent Assembly.

3

Re:- Rehabilitation & Re-settlement of Evacuees from Eastern Pakistan in West Bengal.

Dear Sir,

I am directed by my Working Committee to submit to you a memorandum drawn up by the New Bengal Association together with the resolutions passed at a conference held under its auspices on the 24th and 25th of January 1948 in which about 350 representati--ves from the Bengali speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa and 815 delegtes from different parts of West Bengal attended.

The New Bengal Association in presenting its claim on behalf of West Bengal most fervently request you and your Government to take necessary action to have the matter settled in a peaceful manner as early as possible. My Committee depends on the various statements made by you and some of your colleagues assuring the citizens of free India that the provinces will be redistributed on linguistic and cultural basis.

The problem of Rehabilitation and re-settlement of the vast bodies of Evacuees from Eastern Pakistan can in no way be tackled unless the Bengali speaking areas adjoining West Bengal are made over to her without delay.

I hope you and your Government will do justice to Bengal and earn the gratitude of this province which is not capable of maintaining her integrity and economy unless she gets back her own lands in Bihar and Orissa.

Yours Faithfully,

S. K. Ganguly
President.

Encls. 7

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

All India League of Linguistic Provinces,

President :
DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI,
M. A., Ph. D., F. R. A. S. B.
General Secretaries :
G. V. SUBBA RAO, (BEZWADA) &
N. C. NARASIMHA ACHARYA, (BOMBAY.)

BEZWADA,
11-3-1948

My dear Dr. Rajendra Babu,

I find there is a good deal of discontent growing both against the Nehru Declaration and the Draft Constitution in respect of the provision made for linguistic provinces. My own view is, that, so far as the Andhra province is concerned, it is necessary to take action on the petition of Messrs Prakasam, Ranga and others for a Governor-General's Order under Sec 290, which has been pending with the Government of India. Even the Drafting Committee has recommended such a course; but it is no good our re-opening the Nehru Declaration and asking the Andhras to submit themselves for an enquiry afresh.

As regards the other provinces, personally-speaking, I feel that even for such provinces like Karnataka and Maharashtra, no such enquiry into their fitness, feasibility and necessity, is needed. You might remember what the Nehru Report of (Motilal) of 1928 wrote about Karnataka. Thus, it said: "In our opinion, a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnataka as a separate province was made.... Financially, the position of the Karnataka was very strong. As a result the All party Conference, you know, recommended the Andhra and Karnataka pro-

views even on 30-8-28. But, if you or the Government of India are still anxious for any preliminary enquiries to be made, we may not object to your views; and I have always been suggesting that such an enquiry need not wait till the Constituent Assembly meets; but, I think, that you may entrust the same immediately to the Linguistic provinces Sub-Committee of which Dr. Pattabhi is the chairman. The same Committee, in my view, might also examine the case of Kerala; the future of cities like Delhi, Bombay and Madras; the question of the newly merged States' territories; the main principles for a healthy and natural Boundaries delimitation; and the rights of linguistic minorities in the new provinces or States. And I see absolutely no point in wasting further time till the Constituent session and giving rise to a good deal of avoidable discontent, unrest and agitation. I pray that you will kindly give this matter your earnest consideration.

I trust your health is improved.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

G. V. Subbarao.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President,
Constituent Assembly,
Camp Sevagram.

ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Bajajwadi, Wardha,
8th April '48.

Shri B.P. Poddar,
Hony. Secretary,
Marwari Association,
160A, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated 15th March. I agree with you that there is an urgent need amongst all of us of thinking and acting as Indians rather than as belonging to any particular province or group or community. When this kind of feeling is ~~genuine~~ becomes general a strong nationalism would be established. Growing provincialism to which you refer, arises from two factors. One is the natural desire of the people to see that those with whom their relations are the most intimate and who are close to them, grow and prosper. The other factor is the attitude and behaviour of those who belong to a different part of the country but have settled down or are carrying on business or have accepted jobs in another province. Very often people of this class do not wholly identify themselves with the provincial people and that creates resentment which manifests itself in the form of provincialism. The natural desire of the people of a province to grow can be reconciled with an all India outlook and it is possible to so arrange the things. The people of your province, while doing all that is necessary for themselves, ~~would~~ should not neglect their duty and responsibility towards the country as a whole. The idea of having linguistic provinces is based on this belief and it is hoped by those who are promoting the creation of linguistic states, that in course of time their province would make its own contribution to the growth of the country. The attitude of those who have come from ~~that~~ one province to another province needs revision. It is the common experience that if a man is in a position

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to help others he very often thinks of the people from ~~where~~ amongst whom he has come and not so much of the people amongst whom he is working and this creates the impression that he is an outsider and not of the people amongst whom he is working. It is unnecessary to cite instances to show that this is constantly happening. As has often been pointed out by all those who are interested in this question, the only solution is for all such people to identify themselves entirely with ~~a~~ the new surrounding and give preference to the people among whom they work rather than to the people of the place from where they have come. If this is done, I feel, ~~xxxx~~ much of the bitterness will disappear. I am writing this to you so that you may consider this aspect and help in remedying provincialism and communalism which we all deplore.

Yours sincerely,

RP

(Rajendra Prasad)
PRESIDENT

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

NOTIFICATION

New Delhi, the 19th August 1947.

No. CA. 12/47-Cons.—The following is published for general information:—

WHEREAS difficulties have arisen in respect of the decision of doubts and disputes as to elections of representatives of Indian States to the Constituent Assembly of India and in respect of certain other matters for which no provision has been made in the Constituent Assembly Rules:

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provisions for the purpose of removing the said difficulties and directs that the said provisions (with the exception of provision No. III) shall be deemed to have effect on and from the April 24, 1947:—

PROVISIONS

I. In rule 51 of the said Rules—

(a) after clause (a) the following clause shall be inserted namely:—

"(aa) "representative" of any Indian State or States means the person who is chosen as a representative of such State or States in the Assembly in accordance with the provisions contained in the Schedule to these Rules";

(b) to clause (b) the following shall be added, namely:—

"and includes a candidate whose name has been reported by or on behalf of the Ruler or Rulers of any Indian State or States to the President in the manner provided in the Schedule to these rules as a duly chosen representative of such State or States."

II. (a) In clause (i) of sub-rule (1) of rule 53 of the said Rules, for the words "in the case of the first elections to the Assembly" the words "in the case of elections to the Assembly held before the publication of these Rules" shall be substituted.

(b) In clause (ii) of sub-rule (1) of rule 53 of the said Rules for the words "in the appropriate Official Gazette" the words "in the Gazette of India or in the Official Gazette of the Province concerned" shall be substituted.

III. In sub-rule (1) of rule 60 of the said Rules, after the words "Indian Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules" the words and figures "as in force on the 1st day of August, 1947" shall be inserted.

IV. To Rule 61 of the said Rules the following shall be added, namely:—

"and the orders so issued shall be final and shall not be questioned in any Court."

V. After rule 66 of the said Rules, the following shall be inserted as rule 67, namely:—

"67. If any question arises as to the interpretation of these Rules otherwise than in connection with an election enquiry held thereunder, the question shall be referred for the decision of the President and his decision shall be final."

VI. At the end of the said Rules the following Schedule shall be added, namely:—

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

"THE SCHEDULE

(*See* rule 51)

1. The seats allotted to Indian States in the Statement shall be allocated among the various States and Groups of States as in Annexure A, generally on the basis of one seat for one million of the population, fractions of three-fourths or more being counted as one and lesser fractions being ignored in the case of individual States, and fractions of more than half being counted as one and lesser fractions being ignored in the case of groups of States.

2. The States which so desire may pool or share their proportion of allotted representation, whether individual or grouped, with that of any other State or group of States by mutual agreement, provided:—

(a) that the total representation of the States and/or the groups affected is not disturbed, and

(b) that geographic proximity, economic considerations, and ethnic, cultural and linguistic affinity are duly kept in view.

(3) Not less than 50 per cent. of the total representatives of the States in the Assembly shall be elected by the elected members of the States' legislatures, or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by the Rulers of the States concerned. The States shall endeavour to increase the quota of elected representatives as much above 50 per cent. of the total number as possible. Accordingly at least one half of the number of seats allotted to any State or group of States shall be filled by election in accordance with the provisions made in that behalf by the Ruler of the State or States concerned.

4. The Conveners in respect of the various groups of States specified in column 1 of the Annexure A shall be the rulers specified in the corresponding entries in column 4 of that Annexure. The Secretary may in consultation with the States in the group make any such changes in the said column 4 as he may deem necessary or desirable.

5. On the completion of the election or nomination, as the case may be, the Ruler of the State concerned shall make a notification as far as may be in the following form* stating the name or names of the person or persons elected or nominated as representative or representatives in the Constituent Assembly and cause it to be communicated to the President of the Constituent Assmebly. Where the selection has been made by a group of States, this notification shall be made by the convenor for that group."

---

*FORM

BE IT HEREBY KNOWN THAT [here enter the name of the representative(s)]..... .....has/have been duly chosen as (a) representative(s) of [here enter the name(s) of the State(s)]..... in the Constituent Assembly of India. In testimony whereof this notification is issued under my signature and the seal of my State.

State
States

Ruler of

Date.....

ANNEXURE A

Single States

Division as shown in the Table of Seats appended to Part II of the First Schedule to the Govt. of India Act, 1935	Name of State	Number of seats in the Constituent Assembly	Convener
1	2	3	4
I	Hyderabad	16	..
II	Mysore	7	..
III	Kashmir	4	..
IV	Gwalior	4	..
V	Baroda	3	..
IX	Travancore	6	..
IX	Cochin	1	..
X	Udaipur	2	..
X	Jaipur	3	..
X	Jodhpur	2	..
X	Bikaner	1	..
X	Alwar	1	..
X	Kotah	1	..
XI	Indore	1	..
XI	Bhopal	1	..
XI	Rewa	2	..
XII	Kolhapur	1	..
XIV	Patiala	2	..
XIV	Bahawalpur	1	..
XVI	Mayurbhanj	1	..
	20	60	..

Frontier Groups

1	2	3	4
			Ruler of :—
VII	Sikkim	1	Cooch Behar State.
XV	Cooch Behar		
XV	Tripura		
XV	Manipur	1	Tripura State
XVII	Khasi States		

Interior Groups

VIII	Rampur	1	Rampur State
	Benares		
X	Bharatpur		
	Tonk		
	Dholpur		
	Karauli		
	Bundi		
	Sirohi		
(13 States)	Dungarpur	3	Bundi State
	Banswara		
	Partabgarh		
	Jhalawar		
	Jaisalmer		
	Kishengarh		
XI	Shahpura		

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1	2	3	4
XI	Datia		
	Orchha		
	Dhar		
	Dewas (Senior)		
	Dewas (Junior)		
	Jaora		
	Ratlam		
	Panna		
	Samthar		
	Ajaigarh		
	Bijawar		
	Charkhari		
(26 States)	Chhatarpur	3	Panna State
	Baoni		
	Nagod		
	Maihar		
	Baraundha		
	Barwani		
	Ali Rajpur		
	Jhabua		
	Sailana		
	Sitamau		
	Rajgarh		
	Narsingarh		
	Khilchipur		
XVII	Kurwai		
XII	Cutch		
	Idar		
	Nawanagar		
	Bhavnagar		
	Junagadh		
	Dhrangadhra		
	Gondal		
	Porbandar		
(17 States)	Morvi	4	Nawanagar State.
	Radhanpur		
	Wankaner		
	Palitana		
	Dhrol		
	Limbdi		
	Wadhwan		
	Rajkot		
	Jafrabad		
XII-A	Rajpipla		
	Palanpur		
	Cambay		
	Dharampur		
	Balasinor		
	Baria		
(14 States)	Chhota Udepur	2	Rajpipla State
	Sant		
	Lunawada		
	Bansda		
	Sachin		
	Jawhar		
	Danta		
XIII	Janjira		
XIII	Sangli		
	Savantvadi		
	Mudhol		
	Bhor		
	Jamkhandi		
	Miraj (Senior)		
	Miraj (Junior)		
	Kurundwad (Senior)		
	Kurundwad (Junior)		
(17 States)	Akalkot	2	Miraj (Junior) State.
	Phaltan		

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1	2	3	4
	Jath		
	Aundh		
	Ramdurg		
IX	Pudukkottai		
	Banganapallee		
	Sandur		
XIV	Kapurthala		
	Jind		
	Nabha		
	Mandi		
	Bilaspur		
(14 States)	Suket	3	Bilaspur State
	Tehri-Garhwal		
	Sirmur		
	Chamba		
	Faridkot		
	Malerkotla		
	*Loharu		
XVII	Kalsia		
	Bashahr		
XVI	Sonepur		
	Patna		
	Kalahandi		
	Keonjhar		
	Dhenkanal		
	Nayagarh		
	Talcher		
	Nilgiri		
	Gangpur		
	Bamra		
(25 States)	Seraikela	4	Baud State
	Baud		
	Bonai		
XVII	Athgarh		
	Pal Lahara		
	Athmalik		
	Hindol		
	Narsingpur		
	Baramba		
	Tigiria		
	Khandpara		
	Ranpur		
	Daspalla		
	Rairakhol		
	Kharsawan		
XVI-A	Bastar		
	Surguja		
	Raigarh		
	Nandgaon		
	Khairagarh		
	Jashpur		
(14 States)	Kanker	3	Baud State
	Korea		
	Sarangarh		
XVII	Changbhakar		
	Chhuikadan		
	Kawardha		
	Sakti		
	Udaipur		
XVII	All other States	4	Baghat State
		29	

* By special arrangement Loharu is represented by the representative of Bikaner State.

By order,

H. V. R. IENGAR, Secy.

GIPD—L104CA—18-9-57—1,000.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M.A., B.L.
AUTHOR OF
'PAPER BOATS', 'MURUGAN, THE TILLER' ETC.
EDITOR: BHARATA MANI

'SVETARANYA ASHRAMA'
KAVERIPOOMPATNAM P.O.
(TANJORE DT.)

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29.4.48.

Dear & revered Dr Rajendra Prasad,

I am adding to your overwork & worry. But in your position in India, it shall be the fate of leaders for years to come!

Your gracious letter of 22nd March encouraged me to write the enclosed article on the draft Constitution. In the name of Gandhiji we must make one more attempt to devise not a replica of the West in our constitution but a new pattern based on the village republic, the genius of India & our Dharma.

C. A would be adjourned to Sept - it is the agonised & anguished cry of the

18 (33) 14

7 lakhs 2 villages. Pray, listen
to the cry with your mathlers
Sift for listening + sagacity
like a true + great Yogi

With revert regards,

Yours

V. Venkataramani

The moment Pakistan became a
live issue in India Politics, I
developed a cough + temperature
which persist today. Tomorrow
I must be in Delhi on my knees
to plead with you again this
Constituency.

Yours

I have also written today to
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

New Delhi,
May 10, 1948.

My dear Shri Venkat Ramani,

Thank you very much for your article on the draft constitution, a copy of which you have been good enough to send me. I have passed it on to our Constitutional Adviser for consideration. As you may be interested in my opinion, I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have addressed to him.

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri K.S. Venkataramani,
Svetaranya Ashrama,
Kaveripoompatnam, P.O.
Tanjore District,
S.I.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

Council House,
New Delhi, the 29th June, 1948.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

The following press note has been issued from the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India:-

The Urdu Committee of the Draft Constitution of India met the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly of India, on the 23rd June 1948 and presented to him a copy of the Urdu version of the Draft which they had prepared. The members of the Committee explained that their objective has been to prepare a translation that would be intelligible to the layman and at the same time to see that it is a faithful and accurate rendering of the English text. In doing so the Committee have purposely deviated from the old style of Drafting Acts and legal documents in a language familiar only to lawyers and judges and have used the spoken idioms. In their choice of technical terms they have maintained a uniform standard of selecting words current in law courts and used in common parlance so that there will be no difficulty in interpretation. A glossary of technical terms has been appended to the translation.

The Urdu version of the Draft Constitution is a priced publication.

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AVT/25 copies.
29.6.1948.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

PRESS NOTE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Note:-

This Secretariat has received, and continues to receive, several requests that the Draft Constitution of India should be translated into and made available in all the Indian languages. Certain private individuals who have already prepared translations have asked for official recognition for their publication. The Constituent Assembly Rules of Procedure, as they stand at present, only require that the official records of the proceedings of the Assembly shall be kept in Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) and English. On the same principle, arrangements have so far been made to translate the English Draft of the new Constitution into Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu). This Secretariat has no staff for checking translations into any other language and is therefore not in a position to give official recognition to any such translation by any outside agency.

N.
16/7.

New Delhi,
July 16, 1948.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Council House,

New Delhi, the 13th October, 1948.

PRESS NOTE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly has made the following announcements:-

1. The Drafting Committee will commence its sittings from Saturday, October 16, in New Delhi to consider the amendments to the Draft Constitution so far received.

2. The next meeting of the Steering Committee has been fixed for 10 a.m. on Monday, October 25, to consider the Order of Business for the ensuing session of the Constituent Assembly commencing on November 4, 1948.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

NOTIFICATIONS

New Delhi, the 2nd August 1948

No. CA/43/Ser/48-I.—WHEREAS in view of the changes that have recently taken place in the constitutional and administrative position of a very large number of Indian States, difficulties have arisen in the carrying out of the Constituent Assembly Rules in respect of the seats allotted to the Indian States in the Assembly:

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provisions for the purpose of removing the said difficulties:—

I. For rules 5-A and 5-B of the said rules, the following rule shall be substituted:—

"5-A. When a vacancy occurs by reason of death, resignation or otherwise in the office of a member of the Assembly representing an Indian State or more than one Indian State specified in column 1 of the Annexure to the Schedule to these rules, the President shall notify the vacancy and make a request in writing to the authority specified in the corresponding entry in column 3 of that Annexure to proceed to fill the vacancy as soon as may reasonably be practicable by election or by nomination, as the case may be, in the case of the States specified in Part I of the said Annexure, and by election in the case of the States specified in part II of that Annexure:

Provided that in the case of the States specified in Part I of the said Annexure, where the seat was filled previously by nomination, the vacancy may be filled by election:

Provided further that in making a request to fill a vacancy by election under this rule the President may also request that the election be completed within such time as may be specified by him."

II. For clause (b) of rule 51 of the said rules, the following clause shall be substituted:—

"(b) 'Returned candidate' means a candidate whose name has been published in the appropriate Official Gazette as a duly elected member of the Assembly and includes a candidate whose name has been reported to the President in the manner provided in paragraph 5 of the Schedule to these rules as a duly chosen representative of any Indian State or States specified in column 1 of the Annexure to that Schedule."

III. In the Schedule to the said rules:—

(a) for paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6, the following paragraphs shall be substituted:—

"3. (1) When the representation allotted to the States, individual or grouped, in the Assembly, or the grouping of the States for the purpose of such representation is altered by an order made under paragraph 2, or by an amendment of the Annexure to this Schedule, the President may, by order—

(a) re-assign members representing a State or States to such State or States as may be specified in the order;

(b) declare the seat or seats of any member or members of the Assembly representing any State or States affected by an order under paragraph 2 or an amendment of the Annexure to this Schedule, as the case may be, to be vacant.

(2) Any member who has been re-assigned to a State or States by an order made under clause (a) of sub-paragraph (1) and whose seat has not been declared vacant under clause (b) of that sub-paragraph shall as from the date of

the order be deemed to be a duly chosen representative of such State or States.

(3) A member whose seat is declared vacant by an order made under clause (b) of sub-paragraph (1) shall, if it is so specified in the order, continue to hold office as member of the Assembly until his successor has been duly elected and has taken his seat in the Assembly.

4. (1) Not less than fifty per cent of the total representatives of the States specified in column 1 of Part I of the Annexure to this Schedule in the Assembly shall be elected by the elected members of the legislatures of the States concerned, or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by the authorities specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Part.

(2) All vacancies in the seats in the Assembly allotted to the States specified in column 1 of Part II of the Annexure to this Schedule shall be filled by election and the representatives of such States to be chosen to fill such seats shall be elected by the elected members of the legislatures of the States concerned, or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by the authorities specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Part.

5. On the completion of the election or nomination, as the case may be, of the representative or representatives of any State or States specified in column 1 of the Annexure to this Schedule in the Constituent Assembly, the authority mentioned in the corresponding entry in column 3 of that Annexure shall make a notification under his signature and the seal of his office stating the name or names of the person or persons so elected or nominated and cause it to be communicated to the President of the Assembly".

New Delhi, the 3rd August 1948

No. CA/43/Ser/48-II.—WHEREAS in view of the changes that have recently taken place in the constitutional and administrative position of a very large number of Indian States, difficulties have arisen in the carrying out of the Constituent Assembly Rules in respect of the seats allotted to the Indian States in the Assembly:

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provision for the purpose of removing the said difficulties:—

For the Annexure to the Schedule to the said Rules, the following Annexure shall be substituted:—

ANNEXURE

PART I

Name of State or States	Number of seats allotted in the Constituent Assembly	Authority for the purpose of the choosing of representatives in the Constituent Assembly
1	2	3
HYDERABAD	16	Ruler of Hyderabad.
MYSORE	7	Ruler of Mysore.
KASHMIR	4	Ruler of Kashmir.
BARODA	3	Ruler of Baroda.
TRAVANCORE	6	Ruler of Travancore.

1	2	3
COCHIN	1	Ruler of Cochin.
JODHPUR	2	Ruler of Jodhpur.
JAIPUR	3	Ruler of Jaipur.
BIKANER	1	Ruler of Bikaner.
BHOPAL	1	Ruler of Bhopal.
KOLHAPUR	1	Ruler of Kolhapur.
MAYURBHANJ	1	Ruler of Mayurbhanj.
SIKKIM and COOCH BEHAR	1	Ruler of Cooch Behar.
TRIPURA, MANIPUR, KHASI STATES	1	Ruler of Tripura.
RAMPUR, BENARES	1	Ruler of Rampur.
	49	

PART II

ORISSA STATES:		
Athgarh, Athmalik, Bamra, Baramba, Baudh, Bonai, Daspalla, Dhenkanal, Gangpur, Hindol, Kalahandi, (23) Keonjhar, Khandpara, Narsinghpur, Nayagarh, Nilgiri, Pal Lahara, Patna, Rairakhol, Ranpur, Sonepur, Talcher, Tigiria	4	Governor of Orissa.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR STATES:		
Bastar, Changhbhakar, Chhuikadan, Jashpur, Kanker, Kawardha, (15) Khairagarh, Korea, Nandgaon, Raigarh, Sakti, Sarangarh, Surguja, Udaipur, Makrai	3	Governor of Central Provinces and Berar.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1	2	3
MADRAS STATES :		
Banganapalle Pudukkottai	1	Governor of Madras
BOMBAY STATES :		
Rajpipla Palanpur Cambay Dharampur Balasinor Baria Chhota Udepur Sant Lunawada Bansda Sachin Jawhar Danta Janjira Sangli Savantvadi Mudhol 35 Bhor Jamkhandi Miraj (Sr.) Miraj (Jr.) Kurundwad (Sr.) Kurundwad (Jr.) Akalkot Phaltan Jath Aundh Ramdrug Idar Radhanpur Sirohi Savanur Wadi Vijayanagar Jambughoda 271 minor states, (thanas, etc.)	4	Governor of Bombay.
HIMACHAL PRADESH :		
Bashahr Sirmur Chamba Mandi Suket Baghal Baghat Balsan Bhajji 21 Bija. Darkoti Dhami Jubbal Keonthal Kumharsain Kunihar Kuthar Mahlog Mangal Sangri Tharoach	1	Chief Commissioner of Himachal Pradesh.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1	2	3
UNITED STATE OF KATHIAWAR (SAURASHTRA).	4	Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF MATSYA .	2	Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF RAJASTHAN	4	Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF VINDHYA PRADESH.	4	Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF GWALIOR-INDORE-MALWA (MADHYA BHARAT).	7	Rajpramukh of the State.
PATIALA AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION.	3	Rajpramukh of the Union.
CUTCH	1	Chief Commissioner of Cutch.
JUNAGADH	1	Administrator of Junagadh.
RESIDUARY STATES:		
Jaisalmer		
Sandur		
Tehri-Garhwal		
Bilaspur		
BIHAR STATES:	1	Such authority as may be appointed by the Government of India.
Seraikela		
Kharsavan		
EAST PUNJAB STATES:		
Loharu		
Pataudi		
Dujana		
	40	
GRAND TOTAL OF Parts I and II	89	

New Delhi, the 4th August 1948

No. CA/43/Ser/48-III.—WHEREAS the representation in the Constituent Assembly allotted to certain Indian States (individual or grouped) and the grouping of certain Indian States for the purpose of such representation have been altered by an amendment of the Annexure to the Schedule to the Constituent Assembly Rules by provision made in that behalf under rule 66 of the said Rules and published under notification No. CA/43/Ser/48-II, dated 3rd August, 1948:

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by paragraph 3 of the Schedule to the said Rules as amended under notification No. CA/43/Ser/48-I, dated 2nd August, 1948, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following order:—

1. The members of the Constituent Assembly named in column 1 of the First Schedule annexed to this order representing the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 2 of that Schedule are hereby re-assigned to the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Schedule.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2. The seats of the members of the Constituent Assembly named in column 1 of the Second Schedule annexed to this order who originally represented the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 2 of that Schedule and have been re-assigned to the State specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Schedule are hereby declared vacant.

FIRST SCHEDULE

Name of Member	State or States originally represented	State or States to which re-assigned
1	2	3
Shri N. Madhava Rau Rai Bahadur Lala Raj Kanwar Shri Sarangdhar Das Shri Yudhishtir Mishra	Eastern States Group I, of which the Ruler of Baud State was the convener.	Orissa States.
Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi Shri Ramprasad Potai	Eastern States Group II, of which the Ruler of Baud State was the convener.	Central Provinces and Berar States.
Khan Bahadur F. Kothawala Shri Vinayak Rao B. Vaidya	Gujerat States Group, of which the Ruler of Rajpipla State was the convener.	Bombay States.
Shri B. N. Munavalli	Deccan and Madras States Group, of which the Ruler of Miraj (Junior) State was the convener.	
Shri Gokulbhai Daulatram Bhatt.	Eastern Rajputana States Group, of which the Ruler of Bundi State was the convener	
Shri Balwantrai Gopalji Mehta Shri Jai Sukh Lal Hathi	Residuary States Group, of which the Ruler of Baghat State was the convener.	United State of Kathiawar (Saurashtra).
Shri V. S. Sarwate Lt. Col. Brijraj Narain Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiya Shri Ram Sahai	Indore Gwalior	United State of Gwalior-Indore-Malwa (Madhya Bharat).
Sardar Jaidev Singh	Patiala	Patiala and East Punjab States Union.
Shri Bhawanji Arjan Khimji	Western India States Group, of which the Ruler of Nawanagar State was the convener.	Cutch.
Lt. Col. Kr. Dalel Singhji	Kotah	United State of Rajasthan.

Name of Members	State or States originally represented	State to which re-assigned
1	2	3
Dr. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi Shri Manikya Lal Varma	Udaipur	
Maharaj Mandhata Singh Shri Baldeo Swarup	Eastern Rajputana States Group, of which the Ruler of Bundi State was the convener.	United State of Rajasthan.
Raja Lal Shiv Bahadur Singh Rao of Churhat Shri Lal Yadavendra Singh Major Maharajkumar Pushpendra Singhji Rao Raja Jayendra Singh Ju Deo Pandit Chaturbhuj Pathak	Rewa Central India States Group of which the Ruler of Panna State was the convener.	United State of Vindhya Pradesh.
Kunwar Shamsher Jung	Residuary States Group, of which the Ruler of Baghat State was the convener.	

SECOND SCHEDULE

Lt. Col. Kr. Dalel Singh	Kotah	
Dr. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi Shri Manikya Lal Verma	Udaipur	
Maharaj Mandhata Singh Shri Baldeo Swarup	Eastern Rajputana States, Group, of which the Ruler of Bundi State was the convener.	United State of Rajasthan.
Raja Lal Shiv Bahadur Singh Rao of Churhat Shri Lal Yadvendra Singh	Rewa	
Major Maharajkumar Pushpendra Singhji Rao Raja Jayendra Singh Ju Deo Pandit Chaturbhuj Pathak	Central India States Group, of which the Ruler of Panna State was the convener.	United State of Vindhya Pradesh.
Kanwar Shamsher Jung	Residuary States Group, of which the Ruler of Baghat State was the convener.	

By order,

S. N. MUKERJEE, Joint Secy.

GIPD—L32-34CA—11-8-48—750.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

PRESS NOTE

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following press note:-

In view of the fact that several Hindi and Urdu translations have been made of the Draft Constitution of India, the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly has appointed a Committee of Experts for the purpose of preparing a translation which will as far as possible be precise and easily understandable by the common man. The Committee will consist of --

(1) The Hon'ble Shri Ghanshyamsingh Gupta,
Speaker,
C.P. & Berar Legislative Assembly,
Nagpur. — Chairman

(2) Shri Rahul Sankrityayan,
Hindi Sahitya Sammelan,
Allahabad.

(3) Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
Calcutta University,
Calcutta.

(4) Prof. M. Mujeeb,
Jamia Millia Islamia
Delhi.

(5) Shri M. Satyanarayana,
Member, Constituent Assembly of India.

(6) Prof. Jaychandra Vidyalankar,
Bharatiya Itihas Parisad,
Banaras.

(7) Shri Yashwant R. Date, B.A., LL.B.,
Poona.

— Members

Prof. Balkrishna, Research Officer of the Constituent Assembly of India Secretariat, will act as Secretary of the Committee.

New Delhi,
April 9, 1949.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Council House,
New Delhi, the 14th April, 1949.

PRESS NOTE

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Note:-

In accordance with the resolution of the Constituent Assembly of India of January 8, 1949, the next session of the Assembly will commence on Monday, May 16, 1949.

'SHARMA'
14-4-49/25 copies.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(47) 32

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

16 23

31

Council House,

New Delhi, the...22nd..April..1949.

PRESS NOTE.

The following press note has been issued by the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India:-

The next meeting of the Advisory Committee on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, etc., will be held on Wednesday the 11th May, 1949, at 9.30 A.M. in the Council of State Chamber, Council House, New Delhi.

P. S. to H. P.
No. 1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi.

AVT/-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Council House,

New Delhi, the....16th May, 1949.

PRESS NOTE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Note:-

In accordance with the decision taken at the meeting of the Constituent Assembly today, the Assembly will, with effect from tomorrow, the 17th May, 1949, sit from 8 a.m. to 12 noon.

AVI/-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(49) 34 33 25

Read C.A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA 18

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Council House,

New Delhi, the 25th June, 1949.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Communique:

The Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly of India has fixed 8 a.m. on Saturday, July 30, 1949, for the commencement of the next session of the Constituent Assembly.

New Delhi,
June 25, 1949.

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TELEGRAM:-"TRACOMIN" TELEPHONE:-B.B.6468

Marwari Association

Calcutta
(ESTD 1898)

160A, Chittaranjan Avenue

No.1222/48. Dated March 15, 1948.

Bande Mataram.

The President,
Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

I beg respectfully to draw your kind attention to the growing provincialism discernible in various parts of the country, and to say that unless the feeling is subdued in time, it will exercise its baneful influence and result in weakening our solidarity.

I believe you are aware of various bickerings and antagonisms that have had their outward manifestations in the past in Behar, Orissa, Bengal, and Assam. The atmosphere appears to be superficially calm at moment but people living in provinces other than their own do feel, now then, that they are not treated as equals either in making appointment providing business facilities.

In the interests of the country, we should all feel proud fact that we are nationals of the Indian Union. Any other feeling i only narrow but also prejudicial to all in the long run.

I therefore request that you may be pleased to emphasiz prime and urgent need of thinking and acting as Indians rather than as Bengalis etc.

Thanks and Jai Hind,

Yours faithful

(B. P. PODDAR)
HONY. SECRETARY.

TKS/ANB.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

All India Congress Committee
6, Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.

PATNA. 16

1813.

16. 3. 1948.

D.O. No 9061C

To Rashtrapatiji

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I understand that Dr.P.N.Banerji, President of the Indian Association has submitted a memorandum to you as the President of the Indian National Congress demanding that the Boundary Commission which is proposed to be set up for the constitution of the Indian Provinces on linguistic and cultural basis should consider the question of the amalgamation of the Bengali speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal.

I shall be grateful if you kindly let me have a copy of the said memorandum.

Yours sincerely,

S. K. Sinha

To

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, All India Congress Committee,
Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

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~~कैम्प~~ बजाजवाडी, वर्धा

18 (52) ~~18~~ 7

सादर प्रणाम—

आपका ता॰ १६ मार्च का पत्र देहली होते हुए यहां पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम आया है। डा॰ मलकी का नहीं, पर बंगाल की किसी दूसरी संस्था से बिहार के कुछ भागों को बंगाल में मिलाने के लिये विधान परिषद के सभापति के नाम एक आवेदन पत्र आया है, जिसके साथ कई नक्शे भी हैं। गत बार जब विनोद बाबू देहली गये थे, तो पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू ने उस पत्र को उन्हें दिखलाया था तथा उन्होंने उससे कई बातें नोट कर ली थीं। वह स्मृतिपत्र देहली में है। मैं आज देहली को पत्र लिख रहा हूं कि उस स्मृति पत्र को आपके पास वे भेज दें। पर, उसकी आवश्यकता पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू को होगी। अतएव कृपा कर स्मृति पत्र के मिल जाने पर आप उसे वापस पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के पास भिजवा देंगे।

आज्ञाकारी,

(चक्रधर शरन)

माननीय बाबू श्री॰श्रीकृष्ण सिन्हा,
प्रधान मंत्री, बिहार सरकार,
पटना।

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कैम्प— मारवाड़ी, पटना

(53)

सादर प्रणाम— -19-

आपका ता॰ १६ मार्च का पत्र देहली होते हुए यहां पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम आया है। डा॰ बनर्जी को नहीं, पर बंगाल की किसी दूसरी संस्था से बिहार के कुछ भागों को बंगाल में मिलाने के लिये विधान परिषद के सभापति के नाम एक आवेदन पत्र आया है, जिसके साथ कई नक्शे भी हैं। गत बार जब विनोद बाबू देहली गये थे, तो पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू ने उस पत्र को उन्हें दिखलाया था तथा उन्होंने उससे कई बातें नोट कर ली थीं। वह स्मृतिपत्र देहली में है। मैं आज देहली को पत्र लिख रहा हूं कि उस स्मृति पत्र को आपके पास वे भेज दें। पर, उसकी आवश्यकता पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू को होगी। अतएव कृपा कर स्मृति पत्र के मिल जाने पर आप उसे वापस पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के पास भिजवा देंगे।

आज्ञाकारी,

(चक्रधर शरण)

माननीय बाबू श्री॰ श्रीकृष्ण सिन्हा,
प्रधान मंत्री, बिहार सरकार,
पटना।

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20 (55)

વેપારી - ગમત વારૂ કે - કેટલા
વાગ્યા વાગે છે. રાત્રિ કે દિવસ ?
કેવા વિચારમાં આ -

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(56)

✓ पत्र - उपर वाला - आंशा - पड़ेंच - होजाने पर
आपके सलाह के लिये अमल में लाया गया -
दिये को रिमाण्डे / मालूम-नहीं / यह पत्र -
मेरे पास वापस आ गया है / पत्र लाने की
लिखना / पत्र - मजाक किसने की कोई आदमी
हो - तो - मैं इसे आपके भेजूं
गांधीवाद / लिखवाया पुस्तक - मिल -
गया / है /
चि. बालमुकुंद - को आशीर्वाद

(58)

कैम्पः बजाजवाडी, वर्धा,
ता.२६/३/१९४८.

प्रिय नंदकुमार,

डा. [illegible] का एक पत्र मेरे पास आया है कि मैं उनकी मोटर को चीफ ट्रान्सफर आफिसर श्री. [illegible] को दे दूं। तुम या वाल्मीक चीफ ट्रान्सफर आफिसर को सूचित कर देना कि वह आकर सईद साहब की गाडी को ले जावें। इसके पहले मोटर को किसी से साफ सुथरा करवा लेना। बहुत दिन तक बाहर रह जाने के कारण गाडी में बहुत धूल तथा गन्दगी जमा हो गयी होगी। उनसे एक रसीद भी ले लेना।

एक पत्र श्री बाबू का पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम आया है जिसमें वह मेमोरान्डम चाहते हैं जो बंगाल के लोगों ने पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम बिहार के कुछ हिस्सों को बंगाल में मिलाने के संबंध में भेजा था। वह एक छपा हुआ लम्बा पत्र है और उसके साथ चार, पांच बडे बडे नक्शे भी हैं। पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के घर में वह पत्र था। मुझे याद नहीं कि वह वहीं है या तुम्हारे पास रख देने के लिये मैंने दिया था। भेजनेवाले का उस खत पर पता भी दिया गया है। उस पते को नोड करके रख लेना तथा श्री बाबू के साथवाले पत्र में लिख देना कि चूंकि मेमोरेन्डम की एक ही प्रति है, इसलिये उसकी नकल कराकर

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पूज्य बाबू के पास उसे लौटा देंगे। रजिस्ट्री से उस पत्र को भी बाबू के पास भेज~~दें~~।

उस मेमोरेन्डम में जो पता दिया है, उस पते पर तुम अपनी ओर से लिख देना कि उस मेमोरेन्डम तथा उसके साथवालों के नक्शों की जरुरत है। उसकी एक और प्रति वे लोग पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के पास भेज दें। सम्भव है कि वहां से एक और प्रति आ जाय।

तुम्हारा,

श्री. नन्दकुमार सिन्हा,
१ क्वीन विक्टोरिया रोड,
नयी दिल्ली।

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PHONE CAL. 198

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.

President
S. K. GANGULY.

Dr. S. K. Ganguly's Statement 27/3/1948.
at the Press Conference on 27.3.48.

It is the accepted principle of all federal constitutions that the Units are demarcated with reference to language and culture homogeneity and regard being had to the fact that India has decided in favour of a federal constitution, the province and states should be demarcated accordingly.

The Drafting Committee have recommended the setting up of a Commission, before the Constitution is put into operation, "to enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions". We demand that the proposed Commission should be charged with comprehensive terms of Reference so as to meet the question of increasing, diminishing and altering the areas or boundaries of existing provinces, including West Bengal and Bihar.

This redistribution of Boundaries and also the creation of new provinces may be effected by the Governor-General in exercise of the power conferred upon him under sec 290 of the Government of India Act 1935, and it is our case that West Bengal Government and Bengal Members of the Constituent Assembly should at once take up with the Nehru Government the question of taking action in terms of Sec.290 of the Government of India Act 1935, even before the new Constitution is put up into operation.

The Principle of linguistic redistribution of Indian Provinces has been recognised by the Congress. Our demand for redistribution is according to this principle. From that point of view Bengali-speaking areas in the adjoining provinces should be amalgamated with West Bengal. It is no innovation because this demand has been put forward from time to time for several years past.

Sj. Rajendraprosad's reprimand to Bihar leaders for their failure to disseminate Hindi language in the area is an indirect admission of the strength and justice of Bengal's claim which is incontestable. Unfortunately it appears that the question is not going to be submitted to an impartial arbitration. Brute strength is being invoked to retain territories ~~unfairly won~~. No conference of leaders is proposed to be convened, as in the case of Bihar and Orissa, for an amicable settlement of conflicting claims. The question to-day, is what procedure Bengal should adopt to get her claims recognised.

The gift of a fortunate accident

S K Ganguly

Press Conference. Page 2

PHONE CAL. 198

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.

...dent
S. K. GANGULY.

(2) 27/3/ 1948.

Pandit Jawharlal's plea of inopportuneness loses sight of the time-factor. The motto of "now or never" applies to this question with a force and cogency to which no other contemporary problem offers a parallel. Unless the question is settled before the draft constitution is placed on the Statute-Book, elaborate and perhaps impossible conditions will have to be fulfilled before the claim can be formally advanced or entertained. In the meantime the process of compulsory conversion to Hindi language and culture, backed up by all the resources of a ~~powerfulx~~ provincial Government and all the pertinacity of an aggressive provincial spirit bent upon retaining the territories will continue apace. Already intimidation, cajolery and specious promises of preferential treatment are in full operation to undermine the morale of the people concerned. The next census will be so manipulated as to destroy all evidence that Bengali was ever spoken in the area claimed.

Education, to be conducted henceforward through the medium of Hindi alone, will cut at the very foundations of Bengali language and culture, and in the short course of a single generation, Bengalees as a separate racial and linguistic group will cease to exist in Bihar.

As against the ever-wakeful vigilance and aggressive tactics of the Bihar Government, the Government of West Bengal maintains an attitude of masterly passivity. The West Bengal Cabinet has made no public statement of their policy in this behalf. The agonised cries of their helpless brethren in Bihar, the public agitation that is slowly gaining in intensity and momentum, the hectic activity of the New Bengal Association which has battered at each ministerial door have not been able to make them break their vow of silence. Not merely the West Bengal Cabinet, but even the B.P.C.C. and the Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly have not done anything as yet to take up the matter and ventilate the universal feeling of the Bengalees. If the spell of silence is not immediately broken, the legitimate aspirations of Bengal will be buried once for all in the grave of impenetrable silence. Can we save the province from such a catastrophe ?

S K Ganguly

(62)

Press Conference.

Page 3

PHONE CAL. 198

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.

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S. K. GANGULY.

27/3 1948.

(3)

Thanks are due to the Press for its championship of the cause. But this has failed so far to make the least impression upon the popular and responsible government. The tempo and intensity of the campaign will have to be very greatly acclerated if the goal is to be reached. Something of the excitement and enthusiasm of the partition movement will have to be recaptured. Something of the stirring emotion that is generated when great issues hang in the balance will have to be whipped up in the leading articles and communicated to the reading public.

We must carry on the agitation with an unflagging persistence, before which the reticence of political leaders must needs give way. The pathos of the large-scale evacuation from East Bengal, which is a standing challenge to our manhood should provide an urgency of and a passionate depth of feeling to our efforts in the direction. Let us conclude by making a fervent appeal to the Fourth Estate of the realm to live up to its great traditions and throw in all its weight to construct a greater Bengal which alone can enable us to realise our great destiny and fulfil the latent potentialities of the Bengalee genius.

S K Ganguly

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION'S

APPEAL

REGARDING LINGUISTIC PROVINCE.

1. In 1912 when Bihar and Orissa were formed into a separate province, the Congress as well as the distinguished leaders of Bihar desired and most emphatically recommended that the Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar viz whole of Manbhum District, Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District and such tracts in Santal Parganas where the prevailing language was Bengali and portion of Purnea District to the East of the river Mahananda should be brought under the Government of Bengal. This area covers about 8,000 square miles with Bengali-speaking population of 36 lakhs.

2. But the Britishers, who were then the rulers of the country, not only did not bring about the reunion but adopted the most undemocratic policy of changing the Bengali language into Hindi, in those tracts, by all sorts of Governmental measures.

3. The Britishers having left the country, now there should be no reason why the long standing injustice should continue under the National Government of the Congress which in their election manifesto (1945) supported provincial redistribution on linguistic basis.

4. But to our dismay, in reply to the memorandum presented by New Bengal Association, the Prime Minister of India has expressed the view that the present is not the opportune moment for redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (25-2-48)

5. This reply has completely upset the public. Their apprehension is that if the reunion be further delayed even for a short period, it will result in complete denial of t he legitimate claims of Bengal. The reasons for such apprehension are not imaginary but based on indisputable facts.

6. The President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and some newspapers of Bihar have lately by violent words denounced the demand for reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar with West Bengal. The police and other Governmental machineries are being used to prevent the leaders and the people of the tracts concerned from taking any step to express their wishes in favour of reunion with West Bengal. The facsimile of the letter from D. I. G. Ranchi to S. P. Dhanbad dated 23rd. October, 1947, published in the press on the 29th. January, 1948, will give a grim picture of the situation. It contained the following :—

"You should obtain reports on the act ivities of important workers and sympathisers who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in West Bengal and if they are found agitating or actively supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately. It is necessa ry to keep a running record of each individual for suitable action iu future if necessary".

7. It is reported that the District Magistrates, Forest Officers, the S. D. O'S. Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools, Bihari teachers in schools imported by transfer from outside have been using the Governmental machinery against expression of any wish or opinion for re-union with West Bengal and they are supported by non-Bengali merchants and some nominated reactionary members of the District Board. It is also reported that the Patna University has not granted affiliation to a proposed College at Purulia because the Advisory Committee could not find its way to accept Hindi as medium of instruction and the matter is pending for two years. It is further reported that the District Magistrate of Manbhum rejected all applications of condidates for Bihar Home Guards as none of them signed their names in Hindi. Even under British rule such acts of undemocratic high-handedness were not perpetrated. Freedom of speech and expression, right to assemble p eaceably and to form associations are being practically denied on a wide scale.

8. Our Association addresssed hundreds of letters to the residents in different places of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar informing them that our Association intended to send workers throughout the country for peacefnlly mobilising the mass opinion for reunion, by means of meetings, processions, posters, etc. But all the addressees wrote back in reply that they were afraid of Bihar Government and its officers and they apprehended that such agitation would be suppressed with a heavy hand even if it was carried out most peacefully.

9. But at same time the addresse es are definitely of opinion that if the re-union be not brought about within three or four months, no man or woman in the villages will ever afterwards dare to claim reunion as the result of the intensive Bihari propaganda coupled with intimidation by the reactionaries.

10. So it is perfectly clear from the above that (a) the Central Government has no intention of taking up the matter, (b) the leaders and Government officers of Bihar would terrorise the local people if they express their wish for reunion and (c) the local people are afraid even to hold peaceful meetings (to pass resolutions demanding reunion), not to speak of other demonstrations. So the entire burden falls on the shoulders of the sons and daughters of West Bengal to get reunion of 36 lakhs of their brothers and sisters and that definitely within the period of three months, if possible.

P. T. O.

11. Act 3 of the Draft Constitution of India reads as follows :—

Parliament may by law—

(a) form a new State by separation of territory from a State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States.

(b) increase the area of any States.

(c) diminish the area of any State,

(d) alter the boundaries of any State,

12. At page 159 of the draft Constitution of India, first Schedule, Part I, there is the following footnote :—

The Draft Committee therefore rocommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions, with instructions to submit its report in time to enable any new State whose formation it may recommend to be created under Sec, 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted".

13. From the above quotations it is perfectly clear that there are two, and only two, alternatives for those who are anxious for re-union

(i) Either to wait till the so-called opportune moment comes, in other words, to get the boundaries of the States altered under arficle 3 of the Draft Constitution,

(ii) Or to carry on an intensive agitation to get a Commission issued at once under Government of India Act of 1935, similar to what the Draft Committee has recommended with respect to Andhra province, (as quoted above).

As regards the first alternative, it is needless to say that it means that the matter cannot be taken up within two, three or even more years from now. So this alternative is not at all acceptable.

Regarding the second alternative, the matter will be quickly and finally disposed of, and the States of West Bengal and Bihar will be finally described with the Scheduled areas in the respective States in the Constitutlon itself, This will not be possible if the long standing question be left open.

Conclusion.

14. Hence it is absolutely necessary that a strong and effective agitation must be set on foot for issue of a Commission at once for re-drawing the boundary between West Bengal and Bihar under Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 to enable the Constituent Assembly to embody the States of West Bengal and Bihar with their respective Scheduled areas in the Constitution itself.

The members of the Constituent Assembly of West Bengal should take up the mattter as they are solely responsible for the Constitution in so far as it affects West Bengal and its border lands in Bihar. As none of them was in the draft Committee, they should i n a body send a note to the President of the Constituent Assembly for the issue of a Commission similar to that recommended by the Draft Committee in the footnote at page 159 and also in the letter of Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Draft Committee (see para 20, page XI of the Draft Constitution of India).

The Commission is to work out or enquire into all relevant matters for determining what Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar and in Orissa should be included in West Bengal on linguistic and cultural basis under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935.

Considering the urgency of the matter, it is hoped that the members of the Constituent Assembly representing West Bengal will not waste a moment in taking up this momentous issue.

20. 3. 48.

S. K. GANGULY.
President.
New Bengal Associaiton.

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

The Prime Minister's Address at Vizag on Linguistic Provinces

A REJOINDER.

1. Prime Minister Nehru, in reply to the Memorandum on amalgamation of Bengali-speaking tracts with West Bengal submitted by New Bengal Association, has said that the present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thereafter the Prime Minister at a public meeting held at Vizagapatam on the 14th March said as follows :- "They would be losing sight of all they stood for during the past three decades or more if they thought only in terms of their provinces and considered themselves only as Andhras, Bengalees and Punjabees. The people of each province had overflowed themselves and it was difficult for the Bengalees to be confined to Bengal, Gujratis to Gujrat and Maharastrians to Maharastra".

2. Thus it is quite clear that by his address in the Vizagapatam meeting he means to advise that there should not be any agitation for redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on linguistic basis. With due respect we entirely disagree with the Prime Minister.

3. The Bengalees are claiming 8,000 square miles of tracts now in Bihar to be reunited with West Bengal. These tracts had been for centuries integral parts of Bengal and it will not be too much to say that no Bihari had lived there 20 years ago. So the Prime Minister's statement that Bengalees overflowed themselves to the lands of contiguous provinces does not apply to the tracts claimed. No doubt during the British rule many educated middle class families have settled in towns of Bihar and Chotanagpur but these are far outside the tracts claimed. The Prime Minister may have these Bengalee settlers in his mind when he spoke about overflowing of people of one province (Bengal) to the other (Bihar). So the people of West Bengal and of the tract in question (of Bihar) by their demand for reunion cannot be accused of a grabbing propensity, rather, on the contrary, they have approached the Government of India and the Constituent Assembly for protection against such propensity of a neighbouring province.

4. The Prime Minister has castigated the demand for reunion as an outcome of parochial outlook and narrow provincial spirit and has appealed to all people to rise above these and hold the interest of India supreme. Here again, with due respect, we cannot be in agreement with the Prime Minister. The fundamental question is whether the provincial spirit and consequent bitterness can ever be eliminated by keeping a tract containing 36 lakhs of people speaking Bengali language within the province of Bihar. It can never be so. The prepetual scramble will prevent growth of broader outlook. On the other hand, if such tract be reunited with the parent province, the bitterness will at once become non-existent. It is only in such atmosphere that the people will hold the interest of India supreme. Therefore the redrawing of boundaries must evidently be a statesmanlike move. Stalin's standard is that if one million people of a locality want self-government, they must have it, but less then one million cannot have it. In the present case more than three and a half millions of Bengali-speaking people want reunion. How can it be turned down by the Constitution-makers who have resolved to constitute India into a sovereign democratic republic?

5. At that meeting the Prime Minister announced that the demand for the establishment of Andhra province had already been conceded and the question before them was how to do it. He revealed that the Constituent Assembly would set up a committee next month to consider the broader aspects of the question and on the findings of that committee would depend the appointment of a Boundary Commission.

6. His significant omission to refer to provinces other than Andhra, which have put forth similar demands for a redistribution, makes it perfectly clear that the Congress resolution (1911), the clear-cut resolution (1912) of the Bihar leaders, the Congress election manifesto (1945) and the convention of the members of Constituent Assembly (December 1946) reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis are now being cast to the four winds so also the drafting Committee's recommendations.

7. Therefore it is requested that the Government of India, the Constituent Assembly, the Government of West Bengal, the members of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal, should lose no time but proceed in concert, according to the request conveyed in the resolution of the Working Committee of New Bengal Association dated 12. 3. 48 and delivered to them, to have the reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar effected with West Bengal.

Dated, 16th March, 1948.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.

S. K. GANGULY,
President, **NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.**

(66)

Resolutions passed by New Bengal Association working Committee regarding the formation of Lingustic Province of West Bengal.

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This meeting of the members of the Working Committee of New Bengal Association records its deep disappointment at the opinion expressed by the Central Government that the present time is quite inopportune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This meeting considers that time has become the essential factor in the matter because intimidation and cajolery are being employed to undermine the morale of the Bengali-speaking population in Bihar. So in the present critical situation that has arisen, this meeting with great concern resolves :

1. That the Government of India be requested to appoint a Commission under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to work out or inquire into all relevant matters concerning the reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar with West Bengal on linguistic and cultural basis, in order to remove the longstanding injustice and also to enable the States of West Bengal and Bihar with their respective tribal areas mentioned in Fifth Schedule parts V. II etc. of the Draft Constitution before the Constitution is finally adopted, just in the same way as has been recommended by the Drafting Committee with respect to 1st Schedule part 1 to be found in the footnote at page 159 of the draft Constitution of India.

2. That all the members of the Constituent Assembly representing West Bengal be requested to take up the matter in right earnest without loss of time and exert their influence to include in the terms of Reference of the recommendations of the drafting committee to be found at the footnote of P 159 of the draft constitution the case for enquiry and redrawing boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa without which the question will remain where it is for two, three or more years with the result that the claim of West Bengal may be irretrievably lost; in the alternative, the members in a body should advise the President of the Constituent Assembly that the redrawing of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa must be completed under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitution is finally adopted.

3. That the Premier of West Bengal and his colleagues in the Cabinet be requested to take up the matter in right earnest without delay and point out to the Government of India that the redrawing of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should be taken up at once under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 so that the matter may be completely settled before the Constitution of Indiu is finally adopted, in order to remove a longstanding injustice and also to enable the provisions of the Fifth Schedule part V and II, etc. to be accurately stated with respect to Scheduled areas, etc. of the States of West Bengal and Bihar;

That the Hon'ble Ministers should also point out that waiting for actions under article 3 of the draft Constitution may be like waiting till the Greek Calends, in view of intensive Bihari propaganda in the meantime in the tracts concerned accompanied by coercion and intimidation, official and non-official;

That the Hon'ble Ministers will also advise West Bengal members of Constituent Assembly to see their way to get the question of reunion of the tracts concerned disposed of as quickly as possible under the provision of the Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitution of India is finally adopted.

4. That the Members of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal be requested to take up the matter in right earnest without delay and point out to the Government of West Bengal that the redrawing of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should be taken up atonce under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 so that the matter may be settled before the Constitution of India is finally adopted, in order to remove a longstanding injustice and also to enable the provisions of the Fifth Schedule part V and II etc. to be accurately stated with respect to Scheduled Areas of the States of West Bengal and Bihar;

That the members of the Legislative Assembly should also point out that waiting for action under articles 3 of the Draft Constitution may be like waiting till the Greek Calends in view of the intensive Bihari propaganda, in the meantime, in the tracts concerned accompanied by coercion and intimidation, official and non-official.

That the Members of the Legislative Assembly will also advise West Bengal Members of the Constituent Assembly to see their way to get the question of reunion of the tracts concerned disposed of as quickly as possible under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitution of India is finally adopted.

5. That the West Bengal Government and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be requested to issue a statement on the subject and thus allay the feeling of suspense and unrest prevailing in West Bengal and the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar.

Dated, 12th March, 1948.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.

S. K. GANGULY,

President, **NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.**

MEMORANDUM

ON

Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts

IN

BIHAR AND ORISSA

WITH

WEST BENGAL

S. K. GANGULY, President,

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

27-B CHITTARANJAN AVENUE

CALCUTTA—13

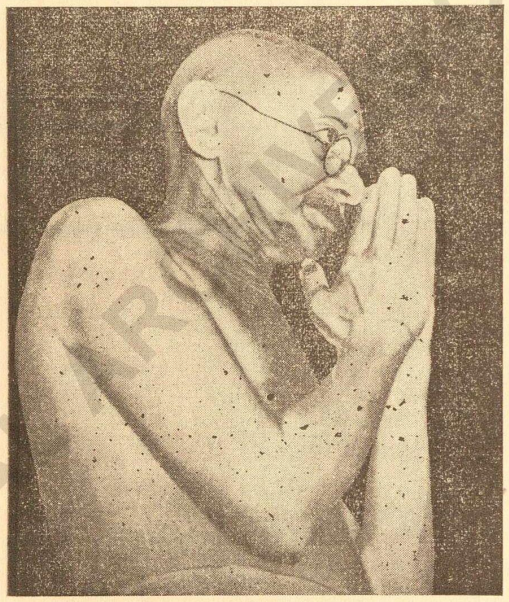
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

DIVISION OF PROVINCES ON LINGUISTIC BASIS

GANDHIJI'S VIEW

NEW DELHI, JAN. 25.—Mahatma Gandhi in course of his prayer speech on Sunday evening dwelt on the reconsititution of provinces on lingusitic basis and said that the Congress had already adopted that principle and declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally. But such redistribution, Gandhiji warned, should not militate against the organic unity of India.

Continuing Gandhiji referred to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of reconsititution of provinces on linguistic basis. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in today's meeting.



The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of country.

But such re-distribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that thereafter provinces could go the way they chose independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to look upon it self as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as aonceived by the Congress was based on village cutonomy. But all the villages were to derive vitality from the centre as the latter in its turn derived all powers and authority from the former. It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalrism between Tamil and Andhra, for instance, Bombay and Karnatak and so on.

IMPETUS TO CULTURE

The redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, Mahatma Gandhi said was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the lingua franca Rashtra Bhasha of India but it would not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realise their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians, etc. but only as Indians.

We must therefore resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces would give an impetus to education and trade. He hoped that they would not need a boundary commission to delimit the frontiers on the new basis. That was the foreign way which they had discarded. The best thing would be for themselves to determine the boundaries by mutual agreement and consent and place the same before their Prime Minister for his final sanction. That would be true independence.

To go to a third party in the shape of a bonndary commission for a settlement would be a negation of independence. They must evolve inter-dependence and mutual help.—A.P.I.

MEMORANDUM

ON

Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts

IN

BIHAR AND ORISSA

WITH

WEST BENGAL

Submitted by

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B. Chittaranjan Avenue,

CALCUTTA—13

1. Curzon's Partition and its annulment (1905).

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by countrywide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Government of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.

2. Government of India's Assurance to modify the Boundaries (August 1911).

Accordingly, the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August 1911 to the Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces—(1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all."

3. The King-Emperor ratified it (December 1911).

The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December 1911 also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries.

4. Resolution of the Indian National Congress urged the Transfer of Bengali-Speaking tracts from Bihar to Bengal, (December 1911).

Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, a Resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December 1911 urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal. The Resolution was proposed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswar Lal, a leading politician of Bihar. (*Vide* Appendix I.)

5. Bihar Leaders accepted the soundness of the Congress Resolution and desired its implementation, (January 1912).

In January 1912, several Bihari leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. They specified that in Chotanagpur, the whole of Manbhum district and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum were Bengali-speaking, so they should go to Bengal and the rest of the Division whichwas Hindi-speaking should remain in Bihar ; such tracts in Santal Parganas, where the prevailing language was Bengali should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district must remain in Bihar. (*Vide* Appendix I.)

6. The Demand repeated In January 1912.

Sj. Surendra Nath Banerji, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India dated the 25th August 1911 the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

7. The Reply of the Government, April 1912.

In reply to this representation the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration,

8. Bengal Provincial Conference pressed the Demand in April 1912 and repeated it year after year.

On the 7th April 1912, the Bengal Provincial Conference passed a Resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August 1911.

This demand was repeated year after year by the Bengal Provincial Conference,

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their lands from Bengal. Further in 1912 similar representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

9. The Demand pressed in the Memorandum submitted to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford (1917).

In 1917, in the Memorandum that was submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing responsible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the population of which were Bengalees in language, race and tradition. So it was urged that by territorial redistribution such areas should be included in Bengal.

10. Nehru Report recommended formation of Provinces on linguistic basis (1928)

In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation,

11. Simon Commission Report also Recommended readjustment on linguistic basis.

The Report of the Simon Commission expressed the view that "the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" and recommended as a "matter of

urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for". (pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).

12. Pandit Nehru emphasised the same view.

Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

13. The Election Manifesto of the Congress, (1945) supported linguistic and cultural basis for provincial redistribution.

The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words: "The Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis". This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.

14. Convention of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, December 1946.

On the 8th December 1946 a Convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.

15. Self-determination is to be the guiding principle.

But of late there has been bitter attack by some newspapers of Bihar against the reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.

It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any interference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way", as Pandit Nehru says.

16. Radcliffe Award necessitates the solution of the Problem without Delay.

Befoee the Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091. By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from 77,442 sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal hase been disastrously crippled by the Award,and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.

Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have got locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

17. The tracts of the present district of Manbhum never formed a part of Chutianagpur or Bihar but had been always in Bengal from old times.

The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them.

Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (Garh Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and that Panchkote, the most important and largest Raj within Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Jaffar Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas, in consequence of which Burdwan chakla was formed containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. In Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second Part, page 189, it is stated that "rich Zamindaries of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla". In the Report at page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended herewith conclusively proves that Panchkote was in Bengal and was not a part of Chutianagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachete, Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Dayabhaga is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Dayabhaga School of Hindu Law.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805 the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13 of 1833 the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845 Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magisterial administration.

18. Dhalbhum also was never a part of Chutianagpur or Bihar ; it was a part of Bengal from ancient times.

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum refused to accept the suzerainty of the British, but subsequently his successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267/- on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII dated 14. 10. 1779 shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833 the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhalbhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above ; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till to-day refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.

19. The culture, customs etc. of the general populace of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are totally Bengalee and nothing else.

In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and Kali Pujas are universally performed.

Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they are done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Beharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijes, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The peculiarity of cooking, the mode of putting on dhotis by men and sarees by women, dressing of hair by women, the way of mutual greetings on first meeting, Harinam Sankirtan in all villages, the reading of Krittibas's Ramayan and Kashi Das's Mahabharat, Jatras (theatrical performance without scenes) in Bengali and the presentation of Radha Krishna's Biraha and Milanlilas accompanied by dances—all have upon them the unmistakable Bengali stamp. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.

20. Geographical Position and Physical Features favour the Claims of West Bengal.

A look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pergana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho etc. and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory of mountainous and jungly Chutia Nagpur. Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are on the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Behar proper to the above mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.

The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands intervening between them and Bihar proper ranges between 1,640 to 3,281 feet above sea level (*See* Oxford map).

From the geographical position and physical feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia-Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nagpur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and inclues Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau].

21. Rennell's maps are conclusive evidence of the above.

J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagur and Niagur were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Bahar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhoom. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomchans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Domchanch. Map No. VII further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur; and the initial B of Birboom in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Ramcurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

22. Language of the people of Manbhum supports amalgamation.

	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Bengalees.	Santals (All speak Bengalee as subsidiary language)	People speaking Hindi.
Census 1941.	4,147	20,32,146	13,57,284	2,67,619	3,57,075
			67·3%	13%	17·5%
Census 1931.	4,147	18,10,890	12,22,689	2,42,991	3,21,690
			67·5%	13·4%	17·8%

The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 p. c. of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention of the principle of self-determination.

The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows :—

	Total population.	Bengalees.	Santals.	Hindusthani,
Sadar subdivision.	12,89,798	10,46,653	1,68,714	62,269
Dhanbad subdivision.	5,21,092	1,76,036	73,377	2,59,421
	18,10,890	12,22,689	2,42,091	3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government.

The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 34, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindusthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called the floating population. They cannot be regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi-speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district including Dhanbad subdivision should not be transferred to Bengal.

23. Attempt to replace Bengali language by Hindi in Dhanbad, Santal Parganas and Dhalbhum.

It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as soon as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge in Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5109 R S. dated 7. 8. 1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in

Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and ryats, who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle the Additional. Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had to reconsider the matter. After long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J. T. C, 9 dated 8. 6. 1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I. C. S. had to observe in his final Report that there was much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record", and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it". After a lapse of over 20 years since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record ; but even to-day the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.

In Dhalbum, Hindi was prescribed in 1934 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar aetion was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's successor as Addl. Dy. Commr. Dhanbad in 1921) is of interest : "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees".

In 1921 Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed "In 1914 Mr. Luby, S. D. O. of Dhanbad, has started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language. The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South-East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921 at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived. The similar policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to me on the basis of policy adopted in Dhanbad."

In 1937 a planned attempt to replace Bengali by Hindi was renewed. But in spite of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.

Mr. Rajendra Prosad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sanmilan expressed his annoyance to the Sanmilan for "not propagating Hindi in Singbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas". So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali speaking area in Bihar failed.

24. Language of the people of Dhalbhum supports its amalgamation with West Bengal.

Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to census of 1931

Mother Tongue Bengali	Mother Tongue Hindi	Mother Tongue Oriya	Mother Tongue Santali	Mother Tongue Bhumij	Mother Tongue Ho
Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City (Total population 3,94,595).					
1,41,105	49,624	44,640	97,119	22.828	9,467
Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)					
17,768	36,782	8,791	564	307	2,616

The figures show that entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibe their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total population of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768, Oriyas 8,791 and Hindi speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bhiar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi speakers number more than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi speakers but of Bengali speakers and Oriya speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been already discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

25. Saraikela should also be included in West Bengal.

Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover a portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharsawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the subdivision of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

The population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30%), Oriyas 36,363 (25%), Hindustanis 4,911 (3%), Tribals 58,734 (41%). Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikala the main language is Oriya".

From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, much less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

26. Extract from Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India page 139-140, Vol. V Part 2 fully support the claims of West Bengal.

"On the east of Hazaribagh we drop from the plateau into the Southern portion of the Santhal parganas and North of the District of Manbhum. Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santhal Parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh and of the whole of the District of Manbhum.

Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district; and the same language is spoken in that part

of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Seraikala consists of two portions, an Eastern and a Western. In the eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the western portion of the State of Seraikela the main language is Oriya.

In all these sub-plateau tracts, however, there is a strong element speaking not the main language of the localities but some form of Magahi. We find pure Magahi spoken in the Chakradharpur thana just below the plateau, and also in the States of Seraikela and Kharsawan. So also in Manbhum and again in Kharsawan, we find a corrupt Magahi spoken principally by Kurmis, which, among other names, is known as Kurmali, a form of speech we shall deal with presently. In the same district, pure Magahi is spoken locally by some of the higher castes. In the five sub-plateau parganas of Ranchi, besides the non-Aryan Mundari, there are spoken both Bengali and a dialect of Magahi locally known as Panch Pargania or Tamaria which more nearly approaches the pure form of the language, and which is not so mixed with Bengali as the dialect of the Manbhum Kurmis. To conclude, as will be shortly explained, the same corrupt Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in the South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in a part of the thana of Ramgarh.

It must be noted that in this belt, Magahi is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language. In Manbhum, speakers of Kurmali live side by side with speakers of Bengali, and in Singhbhum and its Native States, side by side with speakers of Oriya, or in the case of Eastern Seraikella, with some speakers of Oriya and other speakers of Bengali."

This state of affairs is illustrated in the map accompanying his observation.

The extracts make the claim of West Bengal for Dhalbhum, for Saraikala and whole of Manbhum irrefutable.

27. The extracts further support the claim of West Bengal for five parganas of Ranchi District, three thanas of Hazaribagh district and the western fringe of Santal Parganas contiguous to Hazaribagh.

Further, the extract "Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santal parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" * * * is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches Hazaribagh lie Mihijam, Jamtara, Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the contiguous eastern areas.

In page 166 of the same volume, Grierson writes "The east and south-east of Ranchi is a meeting place of three overlapping forms of Aryan speach. In the south-east * * the Jain Majhis and the well-to-do cultivating and trading castes speak the Saraki form of Bengali. In the five parganas Tamar, Bundu, Baranda, Rahe and Silli), * * * Bengali-Saraki overlaps". These parganas are contiguous to the Jhalda area of Manbhum; and Grierson's estimate of the number of Bengalee-speakers in Ranchi is no less than 54,860. So there is no reason why this portion of Ranchi District should not be amalgamated with Bengal.

The extract "Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in part of the thana of Ramgarh." It is well known that the people of thanas Gola, Kashmar and part of Ramgarh exclusively speak Bengali. They do not even use Hindi as a subsidiary language. So it is proper that these thanas should also be amalgamated with Bengal.

28. Subdivisions of Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, and Rajmahal in Santal Parganas should also be amalgamated with West Bengal.

Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda of West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above

subdivisions is almost the same as that of the contiguous districts of West Bengal. In the beginning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas was within Bhagalpur and the remainder in Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was its capital. The western natural boundary of West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and the ranges extending southward. From the list of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Permanent Settlement the subdivisions of Rajmahal, Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of Dumka were within Bengal.

In 1912 the district was included in the separated Province of Bihar. In the Census Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Perganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali-speaking people, still Bengali is the current language among the aborigines of the district."

In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage of an artificial imposition.

The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi speakers is four times that of Bengali speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka ; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur, and for which the approximate figures may be stated as : Bengalees—217 thousand, Hindi-speakers—136 thousand. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal : Bengalees 42,937 plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi speakers 1,22,601. Dumka : Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,268, against Hindi-speakers 1,97,434. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Rajmahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali, with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in the court of the Judge at Birbhum. One such is to be found in the Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi. Relevant extracts from this document are reproduced in Appendix III.

29. Necessary strip of land from eastern portion of Purnea should be given to West Bengal.

The spoken language in the eastern portion of Purnea District is called Kishengunjia or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the spoken language of North Bengal districts of Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than 6 lakhs in his time. He observed that this dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishengunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part of Sadar subdivision. The three succeeding censuses record the following figures with respect to the whole district of Purnea :

	1911	1921	1931
Hindi	12,02,568	18,74,971	19,80,123
Bengali	7,49,018	1,02,005	1,47,299

It is remarkable that in the first census after the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province the number of Bengali-speakers decreased by 6 lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision

In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Satgope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.

So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.

A new factor has come to work as a sequel to the partition of Bengal and the peculiar position of West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts have been cut off from the rest of West Bengal by the unjustifiable corridor which the Radcliffe Award has provided for the Pakistan province resulting in interruption of communication between the northern and southern sections of West Bengal. Control over the route through Katihar, Barsoi and Kisengunge would in the circumstances be of inestimable benefit to Bengal; and it is to be hoped that Bihar will not grudge this to Bengal.

30. General remarks with respect to the tribal population in the areas dealt with above.

Living side by side with Bengalees in the area under consideration (viz., Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum District, entire District of Manbhum, eastern fringe of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, whole of Jamtara sub-division, 2/3rds of Dumka subdivision, entire Pakur sub-division and ¾ths of Rajmahal subdivision of the Santal Parganas, and such portions of Purnea District as lie to the east of the Mahananda-Kalindri river and of the Katihar-Manihari road) are large numbers of Santals, Bhumijes and other Aboriginal Tribes the great majority of whom speak among themselves in their own tribal languages, but in Bengali with people outside their groups. A fair number out of these (including some 40,000 out of 2,82,000 Santals in Manbhum, about 5,000 Santals in Singhbhum, and all but 3,000 out of over a lakh of Bhumijes in Manbhum) have even given up their tribal language altogether and speak in Bengali exclusively. In respect of Bhumijes, believed to the autocthonous race in Manbhum, it was recorded as long ago as in 1832 by Mr. Dent who had been sent by the East India Company to quell a rising that "they spoke Bengali and were adopting Hindu customs". More than half a century later, Risley (the anthropologist) observed: "Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and speak only Bengali". In respect of aboriginals in the Santal Parganas, the Census Commissioner's observation about Bengali being very much more current than Hindi as a subsidiary language among the aboriginal people of the district has already been quoted in a previous paragraph.

31. Conclusion

It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specified in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein. The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly created provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

S. K. GANGULY,
President,
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

24-1-48.

APPENDIX I.

(*a*) **Copy of a Resolution moved in the Indian National Congress Session, 1911 by Dr. (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, seconded by Mr. Parmeswar Lal and passed unanimously.**

"That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and prays that, in readjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

(*b*) **Copy of Statement published in January 1912 by a number of prominent leaders of Bihar.**

"In accordance with the Resolution of the last Congress the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purnea and Malda to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Parganah Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remainining in Bihar.'

———

Appendix II

Part 1.

Figures from the 1931 Census Tables showing Languages spoken in different Subdivisions of Districts on the eastern fringe of Bihar Province.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in square miles.	Total population	Number of persons with mother tongue						
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhali	Bhumij	Ho	Oraon & Malto
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur	1,160	3,94,595	1,41,105	49,624	44,640	97,119	22,828	9,467	
Jamshedpur City		83.738	17,768	36,722	8,791	564	307	2,616	
Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum,	3,308	12,89,798	10,46,653	62,269		1,68,714	2,907		
Dhanbad Sub-division of Manbhum	787	5,21,092	1,76,036	2,59,421		73,377			
Jamtara Subdivistion of Santal Parganas	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117			
Dumka Subdivision of Santal Parganas	1,463	4,66,157	46,077	1,79,434		2,26,268			7,012
Pakur Subdivision of Santal Parganas	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455		1,45,626			14,260
Rajmahal Subdivision of Santal Parganas	801	3,31,136	42,937	1.22,601		1,30,644			27,871
Sadar Sub-division of Purnea	2,575	11,11,799	86,691	9,74,379		34,904			12,671
Kissengunge Subdivision of Purnea.	1,346	5,60,577	59,398	4,94,120		4,683			1,334

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Part 2.

Approximate figures for such portions only of the Subdivisions of S. Parganas and of Purnea as are claimed for inclusion in Bengal.

Name of Subdivision or other area.	Area in sq. miles.	Total population	Number of persons with mother tongue						
			Bengali	Hindi	Oriya	Santhali	Bhumij	Ho	Oraon & others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Whole of Jamtara Subdivision.	693	2,43,858	73,091	70,362		99,117			1,288
Half of Dumka Subdivision.	730	2,33,000	42,000	28,000		1,60,000			3,000
Whole of Pakur	700	2,75,574	68,792	44,455		1,45,626			16,701
Portion of Rajmahal	370	1,66,000	34,000	22,000		1,00,000			10,000
In Purnea District portion east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and east of Manihari-Katihar road.	800	3,54,000	1,35,000	1,74,000 (a)		33,000			12,000

(a) Most of these speak in the Siripuria *boli* which Dr. Grieson classes as a dialect of Bengali,

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APPENDIX III.

শ্রীশ্রীদুর্গা সহায়।

বৈদ্যনাথ

মহামহিম শ্রীযুত জজসাহেব বরাবরেষু—

জীলে বিরভোম—

৺৭ নিজ দেওঘরের দরখাস্ত নিবেদন শ্রীক্রেপারাম চক্রবর্ত্তী ও শ্রীজগন্তার্থ চক্রবর্ত্তী ও শ্রীসেবারাম টপতি ও শ্রীসতঞ্চির ঝা..... .....আগে শ্রীশ্রী৺ ঠাকুরের ওঝাগিরি কার্য্যের রামদত্ত ঝা ছিলেন তাহার ৺ প্রাপ্তি হইলে হুযুরের হুকুম মত ঝামত ওঝার পুত্র শ্রীযুত আনন্দদত্ত ওঝা সকুল কার্য্যে খবর গিরি যুন্দর [illegible] করিতেছেন.....ইহার মৈদ্ধে ওঝাগিরি কার্য্যে নিযুক্ত হইলে বড় ভাল হয়ে শ্রীযুত আনন্দদত্ত ঝা সর্ব্বপ্রকারের এ কার্য্যের যোগ্য.....অতএব আরজ শ্রীযুত সাহেব আমাদিগের উপর মেহেরবানগি করিয়া এ দরখাস্ত মঞ্জুর করেন শ্রীযুত গবরণর জেনারেল নওয়াপ সাহেবের নিকট পাঠাইতে হুকুম হয়ে ইহা আরজ করিলাম ইতি—সন ১২০৩ সাল বেতেরিখ—৭ মাঘ (about 1797 A. D)

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

Dr. S. K. Ganguly

at a Conference in Calcutta held on 24th January 1948.

Friends and Delegates,

It had been announced in the papers that our distinguished countryman and the accredited spokesman of the Bengalee population in Bihar, Sj. P. R. Das was to have presided over the Conference convened to press forward the claims of Bengal to the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar. No worthier or more distinguished choice could have been made for the purpose. Unfortunately, owing to unavoidable circumstances, it has not been possible for him to make time to attend this function. In his absence, the task of guiding the deliberations of this momentous session has devolved upon my unworthy shoulders. I have no claim to political or any other sort of eminence, having nothing but a genuine desire to serve to the full extent of my humble capacity. Success depends not so much on the status of the President as on the justice of the claim advanced and the spirit of strong determination to back up an undeniably just claim. Both these factors being present in an abundant measure, I have no manner of doubt that the Conference will be a splendid success despite the personal shortcomings of the President.

The memorandum which we have drawn up for presentation to the members of the Constituent Assembly and the Central Government has made out such a convincing and unassailable case for inclusion in West Bengal of Bengali-speaking tracts existing in six districts of Bihar and Seraikela State that no additionl arguments from me are necessary to commend it to your acceptance. The Bengali-speaking tracts are :

(1) the entire district of Manbhum ; (2) in the district of Singhbhum, the entire subdivisions of Dhalbhum containing Jamshedpur and State of Seraikella ; (3) in the Santal Parganas, the entire subdivision of Jamtara and Pakur, major portions of the subdivisions of Dumka and Rajmahal and the western fringe which contains Mihijam, Madhupur and Deoghar ; (4) in the district of Hazaribagh, the thanas of Gola, Kashmar and Ramgarh ; (5) in the district of Ranchi, the Panch Parganas consisting of Bundu, Baranda, Rahe, Tamar, Silli; (6) in the district of Purnea, the areas lying to the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and the Katihar-Manihari Road. Indeed it seems unfortunate that a case so palpably just and self-evidently righteous should need any fighting at all. Certain integral parts of Bengal were cut off and added to Bihar by the executive order of an alien Government, which, baulked of its desire to weaken the growing nationalism in Bengal in one direction, hit on a second device to achieve its object. Protests by the people affected, statements issued by Bihar leaders of the day, resolutions adopted in successive sessions of the Indian National Congress and of the Bengal Provincial Conference, the unanimous trend of enlightened political opinion throughout India, all testify to the incontestable justice of the claim to reunite the sundered parts of the parent Province. Yet strangely enough, on the advent of freedom and the end of the alien rule, that claim is sought to be side-tracked as inopportune and smacking of provincial narrowness. It is a melancholy evidence of how much we have shrunk in moral stature and integrity since the glorious days of the annulment of the partition of Bengal. What a sad contrast between the attitude of the Bihari leaders in 1912, who unhesitatingly advocated the transfer of the Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar to Bengal and that of the present generation, which indulges in threats, denunciation and chauvinistic sabre-rattling to nullify the generous sentiments of

their predecessors. Freedom will be a meaningless abstraction if it does not bring in its wake a more just and generous national policy, if it does not offer unrestricted scope for self-determination, if it does does not work for the creation of homegeneous provinces which, while economically self-sufficient and developing along their own lines, will grow strong and thereby add to the strength of the Indian Union of which they are component parts. Unfortunately the present tendency seems to be towards an accentuation of narrowness and rigidity of outlook.

Congress has unequivocally accepted the principle of the self-determination of provinces on a linguistic basis and has embodied it in its election manifesto of 1945. The present reluctance therefore to put into effect its solemn declaration of policy is to say the least of it, curiously inexplicable and belies the noble tradition for which Congress stands. There is a hush-hush policy about the practical implementation of the principle which is sure to cause suspicion and resentment. The only explanation vouchsafed so far is that the time is not ripe for such action, as it would inflame provincial hostility and add to the tension of an already overcharged atmosphere. Let us analyse at some length this alleged excuse of inopportuneness. It implies an admission that Congress has no strength to enforce a just and equitable readjustment of boundaries between two sister provinces which are part of the same Union.

This surely underestimates the great hold that the Congress exercises over the mass mind in every province. If Pandit Jawaharlal uses a a tenth part of the persuasive power he displayed in quelling the communal disturbances in Bihar provoked by the Noakhali atrocities in Bengal, if Mahatmaji just waves the tip of the magical wand by which he restored communal harmony out of the seething turmoil in Calcutta, I am sure Bihar which is famous for her loyalty to Congress principles will gladly relinquish her hold on areas to which she has no legitimate claim. Sj. Rajendraprosad, the President of the Indian National Congress, who is a devoted follower of Mahatmaji and whose main task is to espouse Congress ideals and translate them into reality, would have been better employed in persuading his province to give up what does not belong to her instead of urging her to prop up a a weak and tottering pretension by an artificial effort to diffuse Hindi in a predominantly Bengali-speaking area. It was not by these means that Congress became the great organisation that it is to-day and it is not by these tactics that Congress may expect to retain its hold on the future ages.

It is surpassingly strange that while readjustments of boundaries have either been sanctioned or confidently expected in respect of other provinces, a grim mysterious silence is allowed to hang over the claims of Bengal. Seraikela and Kharswan have been provisionally taken away from Bihar and merged in Orissa. That at any rate shows that the times are not inopportune for such a transfer. Bihar's frantic protests have been respected in the promised appointment of a tribunal to adjudicate between the rival claims of the two provinces. But strangely enough, the possibility that Bengal also might have a say in the matter has been completely overlooked. Bihar, in her claims on Seraikela, has displayed the true neighbourly spirit in seeking the collabortion of Bengal in resisting the counter-claims of Orissa. The neighbourly spirit was perhaps evoked by the fact that Bengal's contribution to the total figure was 30 p. c. while that of Bihar was only 3. We, however, welcome this collaboration of forces and hope that the partnership will be carried as long as the requirements of justice dictate, and that the principles invoked in establishing Bihar's claim on these states will also be applied in determining the claims of Bengal on areas now incorporated in Bihar. The announcement in the papers that Andhra will be carved out of Madras and constituted into a separate province from April 1948 further weakens the plea of inopportunness put forward in shelving the consideration of the case of Bengal.

The justice of the claim put forward on behalf of Bengal does not admit of a moment's doubt. The main question on which the conference should concentrate is the devising of means to enforce this eminently just and reasonable demand. Mass opinion both in Bengal and Bihar must be fully mobilised for the attainment of the object. It has been reported that in some of the areas in Behar, coercion and intimidation are being resorted to, to prevent free expression of opinion on the part of the Bengalee residents.

This campaign of terrorisation must cease and we must be prepared to refer our case to impartial adjudication and accept the verdict however unpalatable it may be to either of the contesting parties. We have acquiesced in the perverse and iniquitous Radclifle Award ; surely an award by our own Government which is bound to be more just and fair should find us in a more complaisant mood. It is a great pity that the task of organising opinion in support of the movement has fallen on a comparatively young organisation like New Bengal Associatian, It would have been more in the fitness of things that the Bengal Congress, which both officially rules the province and unofficially moulds public opinion should have come forward to assume the leadership. But strangely enough the response of the Congress as a body and of individual congress leaders has been halting and half-h earted. This shyness and reticence, bred perhaps out of a feeling of uncertainty about the attitude of the Congress High Command, do not seem to have had much effect upon the provincial Congress leaders in Bihar and Orissa. They have jumped into the fray to safe-guard the vital interest of their respective provinces and have not set much store by the interpretation of their activities by the Centre. This, I venture to submit, is an eminently correct attitude. Provincial leadership should not be entrusted to people who have not the courage to advance the interest of their own province and who passively wait for a lead from the higher authorities. Leaders in the province should sometimes aspire to lead, instead of being always led, let us hope not invariably by the nose. They should correctly apprise the Central Government of strong, explosive feelings prevalent in the provinces and urge them to appropriate action before an explosion is precipitated. It is a very sad thing to say that with the exception of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, and the President of the Hindu Mahasava, no front-rank politician has come forward to champion the cause of Bengal, a cause which constitutes a vital condition of her very survival as a provincial unit. Let us hope that this tarrying behind argues no indecision or weakness of nerves, but a waiting for the rallying of forces and the advent of the auspicious moment. We expect that the Congress will behave as she had done in respect of the partition of Bengal, that she will come last but when she comes she will bring overwhelming force along with her. It is in this hope that we take it upon ourselves to launch the campaign for building a better, a richer and more homegeneous province of Bengal. I am quite sure that worthier people will step along the trail we have blazed and assume final responsibility for conducting the campaign to a successful issue. In the meantime we would earnestly appeal to every son and daughter of Bengal and of Bengal beyond her present boundaries who are convinced of the justice of our cause, to swell our rank and to effectively organise public opinion, until it acquires the momentum of an irresisdtile avalanche that will sweep away all obstruction from its path of progress and inevitable triumph.

JAI HIND.

RESOLUTIONS

(Passed on 25th January, 1948, at a Conference at Ashutosh College Hall, Calcutta. on the amalgamation of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal Province).

1. This Conference of the representative organisations of Bengal and of the representatives of Bengalee Associations and delegates from the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, resolve that for cultural and linguistic consideration as well as in fulfilment of the pledge contained in the Congress Election manifesto of the 11th December, 1945, the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar and Orissa viz. the, District of Manbhum, and the sub-divisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal and that portion of Purnea which is to the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and Katihar-Manihari Road and the state of Seraikela, and other similar areas should be forthwith amalgamated with West Bengal Province.

2. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly to appoint a Delimitation Commission for giving effect to the foregoing resolution as early as possible.

3. This Conference urges on the Cabinet of West Bengal Government the immediate necessity of taking appropriate action to secure at an early date the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts as mentioned in resolution No. 1 with West Bengal Province on cultural and linguistic basis.

4. This Conference authorises New Bengal Association to take all necessary action to secure the reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas now in Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal Province, in collaboration with the Bengalee-Association of Bihar and other interested bodies of Bihar and Orissa and the principal social and political organisations of the West Bengal Province.

5. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly that none of the rights and privileges at present enjoyed by the tribal people in the Bengali-speaking areas under special Regulations may be in any way touched after their amalgamation with West Bengal Province.

BLACK-LISTING OF HOMESICK BENGALEES IN BIHAR.

(Copy of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a fascimile of which was published in the press on 29th January 1948.)

Confidential.—

Office of the D. I. G., S. P., Ranchi.
The 23rd October, 1947.

Memo. No. A/XXV-i-47.

To

The S. P., Dhanbad.

Ref.—Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.

Sub.—Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in west Bengal.

You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo. under reference and if they are found agitating or activaly supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately.

It is necessary to keep running record of each individual for suitable action in future, if necessary.

Sd. R. R. PRASAD,
D. I. G., S. R.

[This supports the "Compaign of terrorisation" referred to in P. 17, in the presidential speech.]

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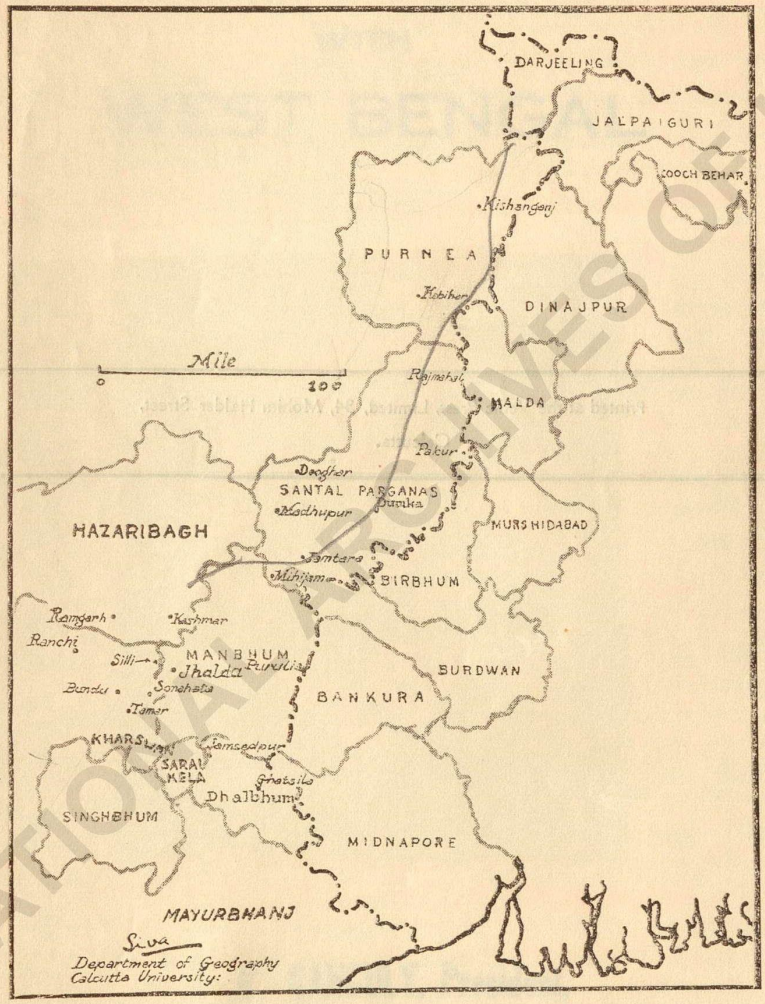
52

Bengali-Speaking areas in Six Districts of Bihar claimed by WEST BENGAL.



Present boundary between Bengal and Bihar is shown by thick dotted line up to Purnea in the North.

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Calcutta.

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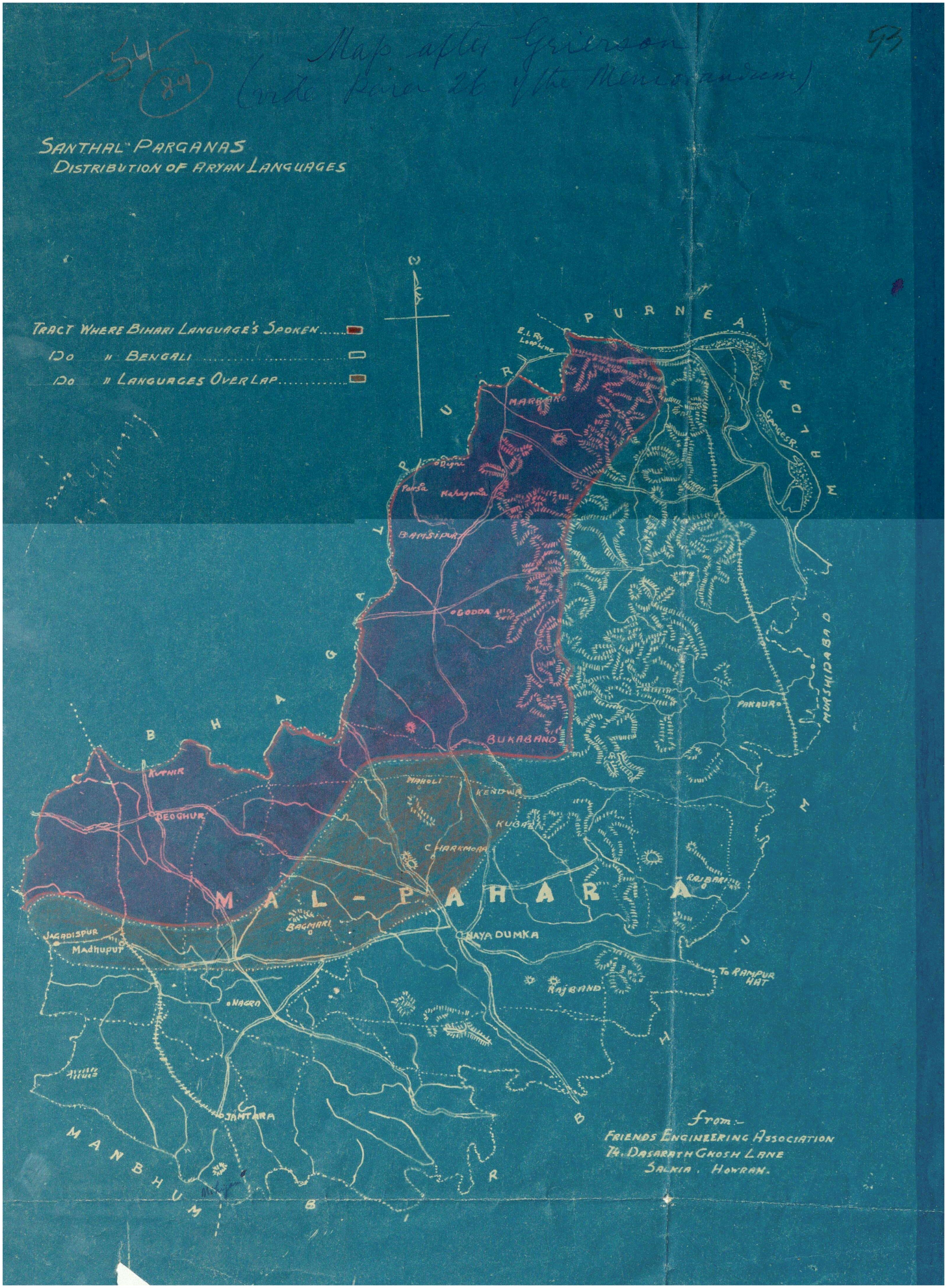
54 (84)

Map after Grierson
(vide Para 26 of the Memorandum)

93

SANTHAL PARGANAS
DISTRIBUTION OF ARYAN LANGUAGES

TRACT WHERE BIHARI LANGUAGE'S SPOKEN.....
DO " BENGALI .....
DO " LANGUAGES OVER LAP.....



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74, DASARATH GHOSH LANE
SALKIA, HOWRAH.

55 & 90

54

Area In Which Maghi Main Language, But Bengali Also Spoken

Do Do Bengali Do Do Maghi (Mahisya Kumali) Do

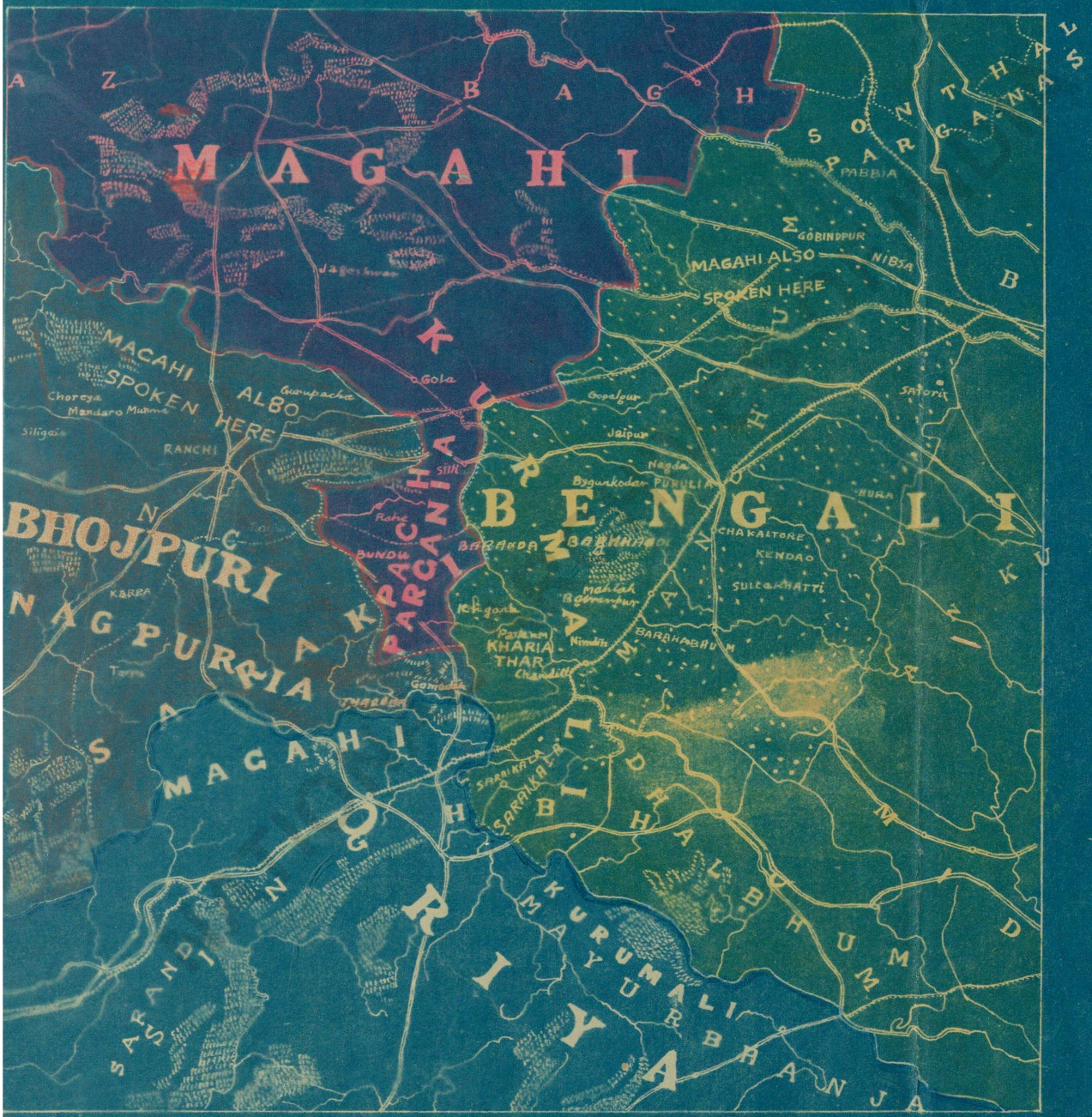
Do Do Bhojpuri Do Do Bengali Do

Do Do Oriya Do Do Magahi Do

Seraikela

Bengali is the main language but Magahi and Oriya are also spoken

Aryan Languages and Dialects spoken in East Chota Nagpur.



Map after Grierson

(Title para & Note Mine)

From
FRIENDS ENGINEERING ASSOCIATION
74 TARASARATH GHOSH LANE
SALKIA. HOWRAH.

N.º II.

New Bengal Association.
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue.
Kol. Cal. 198.

The PROVINCES of
BENGAL,
Situated on the west of the
HOOGLY RIVER;
With the
MAHARATTA FRONTIER.
Inscribed to
HARRY VERELST ESQR.
By his obliged humble Servant
J Rennell
RAMGUR
BURBOOM
BISNUPOUR
MIDNAPOUR
MOHUR
BUNGE
HOOGLY RIVER
Calcutta
Hooghly
Culpee
Diamond Harbour
Published According to Act of Parliament by J. Rennell Oct.a 1779.
Heliodiscographed at the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta.

New Bengal Association.
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta-13 Tel. Cal. 193.

BENGAL and BAHAR
BOOTAN
OUDE
BETTIAH
GOORACPOUR
SARUN
GAZYPOUR
SHAWABAD
ROHTEPOUR
BAHAR
RAMGUR
PURNEAH
MORUNG
BEYTAR
RUNGPOUR
DINAGEPOUR
BOGLIPOUR
MOORSHEDABAD
CALCUTTA
HOOGLY
JESSORE
JUSHPOUR
BISNEE
GARROWS
GONASE
RUNGAMATTY
EXPLANATION.
REFERENCES.

BENGAL and BAHAR
N.IX.
REFERENCES.
BOOTAN
BISNEE
MATTY
GARROWS
GONASER
PURNEAH
RUNGPOUR
DINAGEPOUR
MORUNG
BEYHAR
BOOTEA
Gentiapours
Cofpour
SILHET
DOMINIONS of AVA
ROSHAAN
Batiah I.
Sanders I.
To
The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.r
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extenfive & populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed:
In Teftimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES,
And in Gratitude for Favours Received;
By his obliged h. Servant
J Rennell

Reg. No. 2138 K., 10.—II.—220.
Reg. No. 2667 O' 08–20' 48.
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Chittaranjan Avenue.
Calcutta 13. Tel. Cal. 198.

al Association.
Hungerford Avenue.
23. Tel. Cat. 198.

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xxxxxxxxxxx
1, Queen Victoria Road,
29th March 1948.

Dear Sir,

Please refer to your D.O. No. 9061 C dated the 16th March 1948, addressed to the Hon&ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad and its reply from the Private Secretary, Shree Chakradhar Sharanji, a copy of which I am enclosing for your ready reference. I am sending herewith the memorandum submitted by Mr. S.K. Ganguly, President New Bengal Association, 27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. As we have got no spare copy of the memorandum and its enclosure, I am directed to request you to kindly return the memorandum and its enclosure after getting a copy made for your own use.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

23/3/48

(Nandkumar)
Personal Assistant to H.P.

The Hon'ble Mr. S.K.Sinha.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

-6F (97)

~~Council House~~
1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi, the 29th March 1948.

Dear Mr. Ganguly,

Would you kindly refer to your letter dated the 25th February 1948, to the Hon'ble President of the Constituent Assembly regarding the Memorandum drawn up by the New Bengal Association demanding the amalgamation of Bengali speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal ? I shall be obliged if you could send me another copy of the memorandum and the enclosures, which were 7 in number.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,

29/3/48

(Nandkumar)
Personal Assistant to H.P.

Shree S.K. Ganguly,
President, New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta 13.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

61

President
Dr. S. K. Ganguly

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-18

Phone Cal 198
Dated 31.3.1948

Sri Nand Kumar
1 Queen Victoria Rd.

(98) 13

Dear Srijukta Nand Kumar,

Under a Separate Cover I have sent the memorandum and six maps as desired by you. I have also sent for Dr Prasad, the Resolutions passed, a reyonder to Pandit Nehru, an appeal and also a statement to the Press.

I hope these will open your eyes and interest you in our cause. Unhappy Bengal wants some living space. Please acknowledge receipt of the parcel.

Yours sincerely
S K Ganguly

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

68 (99)

14

62

Madras, 3rd April 1948.

To

The President of the Indian National Congress.

Sir,

I am sending herewith a copy of the memorandum prepared by a committee, urging the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province and pointing out the undesirability of the immediate formation of Malabar district into a Province by itself. I am sure you will give the matter your serious consideration.

Yours truly,

K Kelappa Krishna Menon

3.4.48

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

63

64 (100)

MEMORANDUM

Presented to

The Prime Minister of India,

The President of the Indian National Congress

and

The President and Members

of

The Indian Constituent Assembly

by

The Committee of Action appointed by

a Special Meeting of Malayalees

held at Madras

on the 25th January 1948,

(*i*) *Urging the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province*

and

(*ii*) *Pointing out the undesirability of the immediate formation of Malabar District into a Province by itself.*

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

64 (101) -65-

MEMORANDUM

It is some time since the movement was started for constituting an Aikya Kerala Province comprising the States of Travancore and Cochin and the district of Malabar. The interests of Malayalees demand that the three units be linked together and made into an organic whole. The necessity for the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province is manifest. All are agreed on the need for taking immediate steps to effectuate that object. The Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, suggested the advisability of submitting an agreed scheme for the merging of Travancore and Cochin in the United Kerala Province. What Malayalees ought to strive for at this juncture is to present such a scheme for an Aikya Kerala Province.

2. The Aikya Kerala Conference met at Trichur in April 1947. A representative gathering from Travancore, Cochin and Malabar voiced the claim for an Aikya Kerala Union. His Highness The Maharaja of Cochin, the first Indian Ruler to grant responsible government, opened the Conference and gave his blessings to the proposal which was acclaimed by the people of Cochin. The State Congress of Travanocre was equally enthusiastic in its support. Of course there were difficulties in the way. No one had a clear picture of the framework of the future. Vague ideas of a sub-federal union filled the air. No one, again, had any notion of the constitutional position of the Ruling families in the new set-up; but every one was committed to the principle of an Aikya Kerala Union though the details were to be worked out later.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

3. Full Responsible Government has since been granted to Cochin. Travancore is marching in the same direction; and to the State Constituent Assembly, the State Congress has been returned with an overwhelming majority. These developments, however, seem to have weakened the tempo of the movement for Aikya Kerala. It is against this background that the movement has been launched for the conversion of Malabar district into a Province by itself.

4. Those who press for the immediate formation of the district of Malabar into a new Province or State—to adopt the nomenclature of the draft constitution for the constituent units of the Union—do not appear to have envisaged the consequences of their hasty action. In the wise words of the Prime Minister of India, "when you cut anything that exists, every consideration has to be given so that confusion and chaos shall not occur. The matter should be viewed from the point of view of working it out carefully without causing the least disturbance but carrying the greatest amount of goodwill and agreement behind it." The question for anxious consideration is whether the District of Malabar may be separated immediately from the Madras Presidency and constituted into a State for the purpose of India's new constitution.

5. The signatories to this Memorandum are firmly of the view that it is inadvisable to press for the immediate formation of a Malabar Province without including Travancore and Cochin. The objections are :

(i) Malabar District at present lacks the essential requisites for the making of a modern province;

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103 — 67

(ii) the legitimate claims of Malabar to certain areas contiguous thereto should be determined prior to the formation of the Province;

(iii) the creation of a Malabar Province will retard the realisation of an Aikya Kerala; and

(iv) without an agreed scheme, it is inopportune to approach the Central Government with such separatist claims when they are pre-occupied with vital questions affecting the security of the Nation.

These objections will now be examined in their order.

6. ***The First objection:*** *Malabar lacks the essential requisites of a modern Province.*—The basic food-stuffs grown there cannot, as pointed out by the Premier of Madras recently, feed its people for more than four months in the year. It has no irrigation works, no power-generating projects and no technical or professional colleges. There are no heavy industries in the District. The means of transport between the different parts of the District are far from satisfactory. Medical facilities are utterly inadequate. Hardly any well-equipped hospital exists; and even the general headquarters hospital at Calicut which was planned years ago has not yet assumed any shape. Calicut, the headquarters of Malabar, lags behind in the matter of ordinary amenities of life. There is not even protected water-supply and no system of drainage for the town. The district is left entirely to the mercy of nature. It is this state of semi-starvation and ill-health that

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

has created a fertile field for discontent and frustration. This pitiable position of Malabar is undoubtedly due to its having been long neglected. To show how Malabar's claims have been systematically ignored, it is sufficient to refer to two matters, food and education, which are vital for the well-being of any Province or State.

7. The primary need of any Province for its existence is food. Malabar, as already pointed out, has rice enough to last only for four months in the year. Nothing whatever has been done towards increasing the productive capacity of Malabar. What should have been done was to form a net-work of irrigation works so that the hills and valleys of Malabar could be made to yield food in abundance, and its fields could be made into two-crop or three-crop lands ; but Malabar's plentiful rainfall has been held out as the main excuse for its neglect. No one seems to remember that the rain which falls runs straight into the sea and that unless the rains are collected, stored and harnessed for productive purposes, the abundant water-supply from the skies is just wasted and thrown away, leaving nothing behind but a tale of soil erosion year after year. The standard of living in Malabar is lamentably low, and the common man is hardly able to eke out even a miserable existence. The people are admittedly intelligent but thousands of them have had to go outside to make a living.

8. Tamil Nad and Andhra have numerous irrigation works. It is well-known that the Godavari and Kistna irrigation systems have converted the once famine-stricken districts of Godavari and Kistna into the granary of the Presidency. There are 56 major irrigation works in Tamil Nad and Andhra. Their capital investment

exceeds 19½ crores (which, computed at the present value of money, will mount up to 60 or 70 crores in the least), and they annually irrigate about 4½ million acres and serve almost all the districts of the Presidency except Malabar and South Kanara. Two gigantic schemes are now under way—the Thungabhadra scheme and the Godavari scheme popularly called the Ramapadasagar project. The Thungabhadra scheme is estimated to cost 10 crores for the Madras Government and the Godavari scheme 86 crores. The magnitude of the Godavari scheme is evident from the fact that preliminary investigation has been undertaken at a cost of 11½ lakhs, and that five districts are to be served thereby. Nor can one ignore the minor irrigation works comprising the construction and maintenance of nearly 35,000 tanks and channels irrigating about four million acres of land. It is noteworthy that Rs. 2½ crores has been so far spent on the restoration of tanks alone. When the Food Minister of the Central Government recently visited Malabar he, observing the sad plight of the district, was constrained to remark that it had a legitimate grievance in respect of irrigation. The solitary irrigation work in Malabar is the small dam known as Vandithode anicut on which the Government have spent about Rs. 3,000!

9. Turning to the field of education, it is hardly necessary to point out that the headquarters of the three existing Universities in Madras Province are located in Tamil Nad and Andhra, with all their constituent technical, engineering, medical, veterinary and other professional colleges. While illiteracy may not be so low in Malabar as in other districts, thanks to the still surviving system of ancient 'Ezuthupallis' (pial schools), Malabar has only two Government Arts colleges which have been recently raised to first grade. Technical

education has been totally neglected. None can deny that Malabar's claims have been ignored all these years. Indeed, Andhra and Tamil Nad have been the favourite sisters in the provincial family and Malabar its Cinderella. What was a conspicuous centre of prosperity at the beginning of British occupation is now left in a frightfully impoverished state. The progress of the district has been completely retarded.

10. While many are insistent on immediate separation, few appear to have envisaged the necessity of having in hand the sums needed to erect the Secretariat buildings, the Legislative Chambers, the High Court, the University, the Colleges, the Hospitals and other departmental buildings and to provide the institutions with all the latest equipments. To build the headquarters of a Province needs planning and takes time.

11. If, in its present woeful condition, Malabar has to start on its own as a full-fledged Province or State, it will not be able to stand the strain. Under the draft constitution, a constituent State must have a Legislature, an Executive and a Judiciary conforming to certain standards of pay and position. The Governor of a State has to be paid a salary of Rs. 4,500/- a month, apart from allowances. The Legislature is an expensive organ of the State. The High Court must have a minimum of at least three Judges. The Chief Justice is given a pay of Rs. 4,000/- and puisne Judge Rs. 3,500/- a month. The administrative establishments in connection with the various departments have also to be provided for. The cost of administration will certainly increase severalfold; and to meet such expenditure there is hardly any new avenue of taxation. In such a state, there can be no

nation-building schemes, no social insurance and no social security. The sponsors of the Malabar Province seriously suggest that all expenditure could be met by borrowed money. But few can view this proposal without dismay. Current expenditure must be met by current income ; and to raise loans for such a purpose is to court disaster. Borrowings on a large scale for the purpose of capital outlay are equally perilous to a new Province at the commencement of its journey. There can be little doubt that with a depleted treasury and with slender revenues there is hardly any prospect of making the budget balance ; much less can the Malabar State initiate any productive scheme or any plan of social security. It may satisfy the sentiment of a few that Malabar also is made into a Linguistic Province ; but should sentiment over-ride the paramount claims of the future prosperity and well-being of the country ?

12. The unfair treatment of Malabar in the past appears to be the main argument of those who insist on the immediate creation of a Malabar Province. Their impatience is understandable. But does wisdom demand an immediate separation to set it on its feet in its present anæmic state ? There must be concerted action by the Malabar representatives in the Legislature to get its wrongs redressed and to make up for the time lost. A popular ministry must necessarily effectuate the popular will, and popular demands must be voiced with vigour and persistence to compel compliance. The Provincial Ministry and the Central Government will not turn a deaf ear to the legitimate demands of Malabar, and if the District is given its due share of all the capital outlay in the presidency on irrigation schemes, power-producing projects, universities, colleges and governmental

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-72 (108) 71

buildings, it will be possible for Malabar to have all the requisites of a Province.

13. ***The Second objection:*** *The need for the inclusion of certain adjoining areas which are really parts of Malabar.*—Malabar, though only one of the twenty-five districts of the Presidency and in extent only about one twenty-third of the area of the whole Province, has one-twelfth of its population. Of all the districts of the Presidency, Malabar has the largest population. In density of population Malabar stands only second to Tanjore; but while almost all the land in Tanjore has been brought under the plough, in Malabar the cultivated portion is only half its entire extent; one can, therefore, understand that the inhabited parts of Malabar are more thickly populated than even the district of Tanjore. In fact we have no living space in Malabar. It is, therefore, necessary to consider whether certain areas contiguous to Malabar should not be added on to it before we can think of a separate Province for Malabar.

14. South Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris should legitimately form parts of the future Province of Kerala. Karnataka cannot have a preferential claim to South Kanara; for, there are more Malayalam-speaking persons in South Kanara alone than Kanarese-speaking persons in South Kanara and Coorg put together. Of the six taluks of South Kanara, Kasargod is inhabited mainly by Malayalees. The majority of people in the rest of South Kanara are Tulu-speaking and they have more in common with Malayalees than with the Kanarese. Their system of law is Aliyasanthana which is substantially the same as Marumakkathayam law obtaining in Malabar, with little or no difference. Tulu is not a written language; and the Tulus were using the Malayalam

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

script for their writing. Coorgis number only a third of the population of Coorg and their language, Coorgi, is a mixture of Malayalam and Tulu. Coorg has no geographical contiguity with the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency. Coorgis have many racial characteristics similar to those of Malayalees. In these circumstances South Kanara and Coorg must form parts of the Kerala Province. To the Nilgiris, Tamils cannot lay any legitimate claim. In spite of the fact that Tamil was arbitrarily introduced into the district as the official language, the Tamil-speaking population does not exceed a third of the total population of the district. Gudalur taluk is predominantly Malayalam-speaking, and of the remaining two taluks of Ootacamund and Coonoor, Todas were the original inhabitants. They speak their own dialect. Badagas who are subsequent settlers from Mysore speak their dialect, a corrupt form of Kanarese which has nothing to do with Tamil. Tamil Nad has therefore no real claim to the Nilgiris. On the other hand, Kerala is rightly entitled to it. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary for the densely-populated district of Malabar to have Nilgiris so that the growing population of Malabar may have some room to expand. South Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris or at least the major sectors thereof must by all canons of linguistic and other considerations fall within the domain of a new Malabar Province. But until the picture is complete, it must indeed be rash to transform the Malabar district into a Province.

15. ***The Third objection:*** *The immediate constitution of a Malabar Province is likely to delay the formation of an Aikya Kerala.*— With the establishment of Responsible Government in Cochin and the prospect of its early realization in Travancore, the idea of an Aikya

Kerala Union seems to have receded to the background in those States with the erstwhile supporters of the movement. The signatories to this Memorandum apprehend that a similar reaction might happen in Malabar also if it is made into a Province. It is contended that if Malabar separates itself from Madras it will form the nucleus of a future Kerala Union. But the experience of the past does not permit of such facile optimism. Those who are entrenched in power are not likely to share it with others.

16. ***The Fourth objection:*** *Without an agreed scheme it is not proper to approach the Central Government at the present juncture.*— Nobody will deny that the need of the moment is to build, strengthen and consolidate the nation. North India has had bitter experience of religious communalism. Let us not in the South have in its place provincial and linguistic communalisms which are threatening to raise their ugly heads and which, if unchecked, will spell disaster to the Indian Union. India is passing through a grave crisis. Let us not by any means add to the difficulties of the Indian Union. It is for the people to present an agreed scheme of an Aikya Kerala Province and if they express themselves unequivocally in the matter, neither the Rulers of Travancore and Cochin nor the Indian Union will stand against their cherished goal.

17. The vital need for Malayalees is an Aikya Kerala, and it is not in their interests to separate Malabar from the Madras Province and immediately make it a new Province without waiting for Travancore and Cochin to come in.

MADRAS,
17*th March* 1948

Committee of Action.

1. Sri K. Kuttikrishna Menon, Government Pleader, Madras (*Chairman*).
2. ,, P. Narayana Kurup, Advocate, Madras (*Convener*).
3. Dr. K. C. Nambyar, Hon. Surgeon, Stanley Hospital, Madras.
4. Dr. P. K. M. Raja, Surgeon and Physician, Madras.
5. Sri M. K. Nambyar, Bar-at-law, Madras.
6. ,, D. A. Krishna Variar, Advocate, Madras.
7. ,, D. H. Nambudripad, Advocate, Madras.
8. ,, O. T. G. Nambyar, Advocate, Madras.
9. Major M. A. Nair, Ophthalmic Surgeon, Madras.
10. Sri A. K. Pillai, Bar-at-Law, Madras.
11. ,, K. P. Ramakrishna Iyer, Advocate, Madras.
12. ,, K. C. Nambyar, Electrical Engineer, Madras.
13. ,, B. C. Vergheese, Journalist, Madras.
14. ,, K. P. Gopala Menon, Retired High Court Judge, Trivandrum.
15. ,, N. Gopala Menon, Advocate, Madras.
16. ,, M. Narayana Menon, M.L.C., Advocate, Palghat.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-76- (112) 77

PA to HP

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi, April 3, 1948.

15

Dear Mr. Ganguly,

Thank you very much for your letter dated the 31st March 1948. I have also received the memorandum and six maps sent by you under a separate cover.

Yours sincerely,

Nand Kumar
3/4/48

(Nand Kumar)

Shree S.K. Ganguly,
President, New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta 18.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Government of Bihar
Political Department
(Special Section)

114

16

76

D.O. No. 10490 C. Patna, the 3rd April, 1948

My dear Nand Kumarji,

I am desired to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of a copy of the memorandum submitted by the New Bengal Association to the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, sent with your D.O. letter of March 29, 1948 addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister, Bihar. The memorandum and its enclosure will be returned to you after having its copy made.

Yours Sincerely

(R. S. Pande)
Special Officer

To
Sri Nand Kumarji,
Personal Assistant to Hon'ble the President,
Constituent Assembly of India,
1, Queen Victoria Road, NEW DELHI

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon , Dist. Thana.

17 11

To

78 (115)

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Indian Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi.

Subject :- Constitution of Maharashtra on linguistic basis.

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the ~~X~~ Umbargaon Village Panchayat at its general meeting held on 25th March, 1948 for your kind perusal and necessary action.

"In order to make the Dominion of India strong and powerful, it is essential that her constituents should be harmonious-wholes and the same principle underlies the demand for constitution of Provinces on linguistic basis". And hence this Village Panchayat opines that Maharashtra should be so constituted immediately".

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,

B.K. Kamble
Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon.

Umbargaon,
Dist. Thana.
Dated 6th April 1948

Encl.:- 1

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(116)
79-

78

Received a letter from the Sanyukta Maharashtra Parishad Karyalaya, Poona dated 25th February, 1948. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the resolution unanimously adopted by the Village Panchayat, Umbargaon.

With a view to acquainting you with some of the details of the Umbargaon Taluka which is situated at the north-most part of Maharashtra and beyond which, stretches the Province of Gujarat, according to my personal opinion, I am giving below some statistical figures which will speak for themselves.

There are about 78 villages in the Umbargaon Taluka, and the population, according to the Census of 1941 is 90,000 and the Warlis(Adivasis) who are the original inhabitants of this Taluka and whose mother-tongue is pure Marathi, would number about 58,000. The remaining 32,000 comprise the Marathi-speaking civilised Zamindars, Sawkars and Gujarathi speaking Banias, Parsis and Mahomedans etc.

There is every possibility of a movement to be started by the well off Gujarathi people to have this Taluka included in the Province of Gujarat as the District of Surat lies very near to it.

Finally, I wish to draw your attention to the important fact that out of 90,000 nearly 70,000 people have Marathi as their mother-tongue and hence it is earnestly requested that this Taluka, should, under no circumstance , be allowed to be included in the Province of Gujarat.

Umbargaon,
Dist. Thana.
Dated 6th April 1948.

B.K. Karnik
Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(117) 19

No. 288 of 1948.

Kopargaon, 9-4-1948.

From:-

The President,
Kopargaon Town Municipality,
Kopargaon,

To:-

18

Dr. Rajendraprasad, Esquire,
President, All India Congress Committee.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of Resolution No. 4 passed at the adjourned Special General Meeting held on 30-3-1948 in connection with the formation of United Maharastra on linguistic basis.

Your obedient servant,

9/4/48 Mrs. Shakuntala Borde

President,
Kopargaon Town Municipality,
Kopargaon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-81 (118)

80

A copy of the Resolution No. 4 passed at the adjourned Special General Meeting held on 30-3-1958 at 5 p.m.

****

Resolution No. 4.

" This meeting is of opinion that on linguistic basis the Province of the United Maharashtra should be an independent unit and one copy of the same should be sent. "

Proposed by Mr. C. D. Kahar.
Seconded by Mr. G. B. Kahar.

Passed unanimously.

True copy,

2 9/4/58 Mrs. Shakuntala Borde

President,
Kopargaon town Municipal'ty,
Kopargaon.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

REGISTERED POST
A.D.

119

19

81

Government of Bihar.
Political Department.
Special Section.

D.O.No. 10938 C.

PATNA,
Patna, the 10th April, 1948.

My dear Nand Kumar Babu,

In continuation of my demi-official letter no. 10904C dated the 3rd April 1948, I am desired to return, with thanks, the copy of the memorandum submitted by the New Bengal Association along with its enclosures, which was received with yout letter dated the 29th March 1948 addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,

10/4/48

(R.S.Pande)
Special Officer, Political Department.

To

Sjt. Nand Kumarji,
Personal Assistant to the
Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi.

S¢10//4

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-88- (120) 82

Reg. No. 2657 D. 08.—II.—230.—3607/94.
Published according to Act of Parliament by J. Rennell, June 1.st 1779
W. Harrison sc.
HELIOZINCOGRAPHIED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA.

General Secretary,
New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue

No III.
GAZYPOUR
SARUN
HAJYPOUR
SHAHABAD
BOUJEPOUR
BEHAR
RAMGUR
PALAMOW
BADZIPUR
CHUNARGUR
BENARES
GHIDDORE
A MAP of
SOUTH BAHAR,
Including the Course of the GANGES
to CHUNARGUR:
Inscribed to
SIR HECTOR MUNRO
KNIGHT of the BATH,
By his most obed.t Servant,
J Rennell.
Published According to Act of Parliament by J. Rennell Sept.r 1st 1778.
West Law from Calcutta.
W. Harrison Jr.
New Bengal Association.
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue
Calcutta-13. Tel. Cal. 168

General Secretary
New Bengal Association
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue
Calcutta-13, Tel. Cal. 198.

BENGAL and BAHAR
BOOTAN
OUDE
BETTIAH
GOORACPOUR
SARUN
GAZYPOUR
SHAHABAD
BOUSEPOUR
BAHAR
PURNEAH
MORUNG
BISNEE
GARROWS
GONASER
BITTOURA
RAMGUR
JUSHPOUR
BIRBOOM
SORE
MOORSHEDABAD
CALCUTTA
EXPLANATION.
REFERENCES.

BENGAL and BAHAR
BOOTAN
To
The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extensive & populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed:
In Testimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES:
And in Gratitude for Favours Received:
By his obliged h. Servant
J. Rennell
BISNEE
GARROWS
KERRIM
DOMINIONS
of
AVA
ARACAN
ROSHAAN
PURNEAH
MORUNG
BEYHAR
CAMATTY
SILHET
Bengall
Bahar
Great Britain
Ireland
123 D

The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.r
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
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BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extensive & populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed:
In Testimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES,
And in Gratitude for Favours Received;
By his obliged & Servant
J Rennell
REFERENCES.
BOOTAN
BISNEE
PURNEAH
GOALPARA
GARROWS
GONASERY
DOMINIONS
of
AVA
ARACAN
ROSHAAN
Bengall
Bahar
Great Britain
Ireland
Total
Balasore Roads
Published according to Act of Parliament by J. Rennell May 22.
PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P.L.O.)

BENGAL and BAHAR
N°IX.
9
BOOTAN
To
The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq.r
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extensive & populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed,
In Testimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES,
And in Gratitude for Favours Received;
By his obliged h. Servant
J Rennell
BISNEE
GARROWS
KERRIM
SYLHET
DOMINIONS
of
AVA
ROSHAAN
ARACAN
PURNEAH
MORUNG
BEYHAR
COOCH
DINAGEPOUR
RUNGPOUR
GORGO
MOORSHEDABAD
BIRBOOM
BISNOUPOUR
BURDWAN
NUDDEA
JESSORE
CALCUTTA
HOOGLY
MIDNAPOUR
MOHURBUNGE
Balasore
Hijellee
Bengall
Bahar
Great Britain
Ireland
Massall
123 D

87 (124)

Maintain a file for ~~repeals - A~~ letters & papers issued concerning repeals - Lic provinces on linguistic Basis & put all of them together G.

(125)

~~87~~

Note on distribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

~~88~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

All India League of Linguistic Provinces

Desabhakta
Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu,
Unnava Lakshminarayana, Bar-at-law,
N. V. L. Narasimha Rao,
M. A. (Hons.), LL. B., Bar-at-law,
G. V. Subba Rao, 'Goshti', Bezwada,
Conveners.

89
126

20

BEZWADA,
17th April 1947

Dear Dr. Rajendra Babu:

I enclose herewith a copy of my views on the Linguistic Provinces' question. I shall be grateful if you can please peruse the same and, both as a member of the Interim Government and the President of the Consambly, do the needful in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

G. V. Subba Rao

To

Hon'ble Dr.Rajendra Prasad,
Member,
Govt. of India,
NEW DELHI.

C-44

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

89

PROVINCIAL REGROUPING IN INDIA & HOW TO ACHIEVE IT.

(By G.V. Subba Rao, All-India League of Linguistic Provinces, Bezwada)

There is general agreement that the present division of the country in India into Provinces and States is unscientific and unsuited for our present conditions or future needs; and it has been equally accepted that this re-distribution should follow a cultural and linguistic principle as far as possible.

Among those who have been asking for separate Provinces for themselves are the Andhras, Tamils, Keralas, Kannadigas, Maharashtras, and Gujeraties; and now there is a demand for dividing Bengal and the Punjab also, on communal grounds more or less.

The inter-linking of the States and their adjoining British Indian territories is an allied problem; but under terms of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme dated 16-5-46 and the subsequent pronouncements of the several British authorities on the subject, including the Attlee declaration of 20-2-47, it is wise not to refer to it here at this stage.

So far as the redistribution of British Indian Provinces is concerned, the learned authors of the Simon Report, as early as 1930, had declared that:

> "As long as the Government of India was entirely centralised and both the administration and finances of any area were provided and directed from the centre, the line taken by a Provincial boundary was of lesser importance. But now that the Provinces have real political existence of their own, the situation is changing and it is extremely important that the adjustment of Provincial boundaries and the creation of proper Provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any maldistribution will be still more difficult to correct. We, therefore, propose, and we regard it as a matter of urgent importance, that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which Provincial re-adjustment seems called for." (Vol. II, Page 26).

According to the scheme outlined in the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16th 1946, the Provinces, will, to a large extent, be autonomous units, exercising all Powers, except those reserved to the Union. It will, therefore, be necessary to frame the constitution in such a way as to make it acceptable to the Provinces to the largest extent possible; otherwise, it may not work smoothly," says Sir B.N. Rao

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work smoothly," says Sir B.N. Rao in his circular Notes to the members of the Constituent Assembly. But it is not the need for new Provinces, is now in question; it is the how of it rather that is to be considered urgently.

The popularly accepted belief is, that new Provinces in India can be established through the Constituent Assembly.

But without going into the reasons why it will be safe to assume that that Assembly has no power to grant away any new Provinces before 1-7-48; and subsequent to that date, whether, in its other pressing pre-occupations, it can then tackle this question for a number of years, is more than one can say at present. In other words, to hope for getting these new Provinces through the Consambly within the next 3-4 years seems extremely problematical. On the other hand, there is the view of ~~Sri~~ Sir B.N. Rao that "it may be contended that the creation of new Provinces is inconsistant with the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16th;" and there is also his alternative recipe for forming what he calls "Sub-Provinces" or mere administrative divisions wherever necessary. This view of Sir B.N. Rao seems to be gaining ground so far as the Congress High Command is concerned; and if accepted by the Consambly, it may mean that there will be no new Provinces at all for another 13-14 years perhaps, i.e. till the first revision of the New Constitution after a decade from its start, according to the Cabinet Mission's scheme itself.

But what is the alternative now? For those who require new Provinces immediately in Andhra, Tamil, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharastra, Gujarat, or in East Punjab or West Bengal?

Here, it will be necessary to remember that, under the Government of India Act, 1935, which is the ruling statute at present in the country, the Power to create new Provinces or changing the existing boundaries now vests with His Majesty, the King Emperor, who can exercise the same through what is called an "Order in Council" on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India. Under the present conditions, I opine, that what is the only way to establish new Provinces

in the immediate future.

It may appear as somewhat anamolous that , in these days, one should suggest a remedy through the Secretary of State; but, it bears repetition that the law in force today is the Government of India Act, 1935; and the key to these new Provinces still lies in London, and now there is no go except to get it from Abraod.

If, however, it is considered that the Secretary of State should be spared this bother at present, then, the Powers under the said Sec.290 which are now vested in him may be transferred to the Viceroy or the Governor General in Council during the interim period. The present negotiations between the Viceroy and Indian leaders are bound to result in a number of relaxations of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in favour of India; and I suggest that this authority, under the Sec.290 of the Act, is one such to be most urgently transferred. Nor can His Majesty's Government, during the interim period, absolve themselves from their own responsibility in the matter. During the war period, the authority of the Rex itself was transferred to the Viceroy to meet an emergency; and it is hoped that the Parliament will not shirk from any amendment of the Statute at present to suit the wishes and needs of the crores of our people in this country.

The question of redistributing Provinces in India was considered to be extremely important and urgent even in 1930; and it is hoped that no spoke shall be raised in the wheel of their formation in the year of Grace 1948 atleast.

During the recent war years, a plea of war-emergency was raised to thwart our people from their desired new Provinces; and now that the war is over long ago, and the country is about to get a new constitution, it is but fair and reasonable that no further excuses shall be found for hindering our people from their long-cherished realisation.

One word more, and it is about the need to satisfy the wishes and provide for the needs of the crores of our countrymen who have been worshipping at the shrine of these new Provinces, on the eve of our securing our Freedom. Andhras,

Kannadigas and many others have suppressed their separate entities and aspirations in their fight for freedom for all India, all these years. And on the coming "Q"-Day, or 1--7--48, when the whole of India shall rejoice on the attainment of her National Independence, shall we allow the multi-million masses of our Andhra, Tamil, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharastra, Gujarat and even Bengal and the Punjab-people to go depressed at the nonachievment of their own separate status, as members of autonomous Units in a free, Federal, Soverign Republic of India?

Mind, the day of rejoicing for all India shall not be allowed to be marred by the frustration of those in this country who have been aspiring for new Provinces for themselves and who are now determined to have them also.

G. V. Subbarao.

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PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
Recd. on 4 MAY 1947
No. 840/47 PCA

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Formation of Linguistic Provinces & our duty.

(By G.V. Subba Rao, Gosanti, Bezwada)

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The Madras Legislature has once again resolved in favour of linguistic Provinces in this Presidency and has requested the Constituent Assembly to appoint a Bounderies Commission etc. for the purpose. But it seems doubtful whether the Constituent Assembly has got the necessary power to do it at present. In any case, it is fairly certain that it is the Secretary of State alone, under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, who can set in motion the necessary proceedings in the direction. The duty of the Madras Government and of all those who need such new Provinces immediately, therefore, is obvious. And it is to press the Secretary of State to transfer the powers vested in him under the said Section 290 to the Interim Government, so that immediate steps may be taken for completing the preliminaries of these new provinces before the new Constitution will be inaugurated next year. In view of the recommendations of the Simon Commission which strongly favoured the creation of proper Provincial boundaries before forming the Federal Structure, and of the basis of the Cabinet Scheme, of 16--5--1946, according to which the Central Union enjoys but limited authority and all the powers of administration, including its residuary powers, are vested in Provinces, it is imperatively necessary that proper Provincial regrouping is effected before the All-India Union is formed. Latest advices from Delhi and London indicate an early revision of the Government of India Act, 1935, as a result of the talks which Lord Mountbatten is now having with the Indian leaders. I, therefore, suggest that those interested in these Linguistic Provinces will lose no time to make immediate representations to the Provincial Governors, H.E. the Viceroy and to the British Government for effecting necessary changes in the Government of India Act, 1935, in this matter without any further delay.

Bezwada,
28--4--1947.

(G.V. Subba Rao)
G. V. Subbarao

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Linguistic Provinces and the Pattabhi Committee Report:

Criticism by the Andhra Branch of the All India League of Linguistic Provinces.

At a meeting of the Andhra Branch of the All-India League of Linguistic Provinces, ~~the question of formation of Linguistic Provinces~~, the question of formation of Linguistic Provinces vis-avis the present Constituent Assembly was considered and the following resolution adopted unanimously.

PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
Received on 6 JUL 1947
No. 1622/47 PCA

Linguistic Provinces:

This meeting is of opinion that the question of the formation of Linguistic Provinces generally, and of the Andhra Province in particular, after a thorough examination of the entire position and careful scrutiny of the recommendations of the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee, as reported in papers, the meeting resolved to record its opinion as follows:--

I. Principle of Linguistic Provinces:--This meeting notes with regret the inability of the Constituent Assembly upto-date to incorporate the main principle underlying the demand of these cultural and linguistic provinces as part and parcel of the Fundamental objectives of the new Constitution, as suggested by a meeting of the All-India League on 17-1-47; and now that the fundamental objectives of the new Constitution are themselves under re-examination, owing to the adoption of the Mountbattan Plan, this meeting requests the authorities of the Constituent Assembly to make good that omission, so as not only to satisfy the wishes of an overwhelming number of the people of the country, but especially to provide a proper and stable basis for the units of the new Indian Union.

II. Dr. Pattabhi Committee report:--

As regards the recommendations of the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee, while taking note of the great sympathy shown by the Committee with the cause of these Linguistic Provinces and their anxiety for expediting the creation of such provinces as far as possible, this meeting at the same time, deems it its duty to make the following observations:-

(1) The Sub Committee did not make any recommendation for a clear and unequivocal acceptance of the main principle underlying the demand for these cultural and linguistic provinces, which has been endorsed by the last Congress election Manifesto also and which would go a long way to assuage the feelings of the People concerned.

(2) The meeting views with surprise that even the cases of Andhra,

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Tamil Nadu, Maharastra, Gujarat and Karnataka, which have been in demand for a long time past and widely accepted, and in some cases, recommended also repeatedly by the concerned Legislatures and even Governments should be now asked to submit their cases of fitness before a Commission of Enquiry.

(3) And that, in entrusting the appointment of such a Commission to the would-be Dominion Government, the very purpose of the creation and enumeration of these new Provinces in the Constituent Act as under the Sections 46 and 289 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which both the Sub-Committee and the advocates of these new Provinces have got at heart may become frustrated, especially because, as has been reported, the Union Constitution is almost ready and, in al probability, may be adopted during the ensuing session itself of the Constituent Assembly.

III. The League's recommendations:--

In view of the above and inorder to rectify these defects and make the recommendations of the Sub-Committee truly effective and fully acceptable to the People of the concerned Provinces, this meeting resolves to submit the following recommendations to the Constituent Assembly, its concerned committees and the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee for their consideration and adoption.

(1) A clear acceptance of the main principle underlying the demand of these cultural and linguistic Provinces, as a basis for our future Indian Union.

(2) In case of Provinces of proved fitness like Andhra and Tamil Nadu etc. to remove them from the scope of any enquiry into fitness, and to accept the same as provincial entities forthwith and proceed to their enumeration in the Statute immediately and to implement the decision by appointing the necessary Bounderies and Partition Committees therefor.

(3) Not to allow the question to be decided by the Dominion Government at some future date, but to decide the same before the new Indian Union Constitution is taken up for consideration by the Constituent Assembly.

(4) In view of the controversies raised, in certain quarters, regarding the future of Madras and Bombay cities, this meeting further considers that the question may be considered properly by the D...

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...b Committee and the Joint Committee along with the wider question of the new Provinces and a suitable formula devised in the best interestsof all the concerned people and of the Nation as a whole.

(5) In view of the acceptance of the Mountbatten Plan and the move consequently of some of our States to declare their Independence, this meeting most strongly urges upon the authorities of the Constituent Assembly that it has now become all the more imperative and urgent to create these most cherished homogeneous Provincial Units immediately and to equip them with adequate finances as well as defence arrangements, so as to enable them to take their proper and legitimate place in the future defence and governance both of themselves and of the Realm.

(6) In regard to the controversy regarding the scheme of Sub-Provinces, as suggested by Sir B.N. Rao, this meeting, considers that, as the very basis of the Cabinet Mission's scheme has itself been changed by the Mountbatten Plan, there can now be no longer any question of this Linguistic Provinces issue becoming ultra vires of the Constituent Assembly; and that, therefore, the questionof any such interim arrangement as has been suggested therein,,need not be raised, or considered now, except for such small or backward areas as cannot be constituted immediately into a new Province.

(7) Themeeting endorsed the Notes on Linguistic Provinces and the Andhra Province prepared by Mr. G.V. Subba Rao and reolved to forward the same to the authorities of the Constituent Assembly.

(8) The meeting empowered its Working Committe to prepare a Memorandum, incorporating the above views and send a deputation, if necessary to the concerned authorities.

(9) The meeting also exhorted the Public of Andhra dess to make urgent representations to the President of the Constituent Assembly (New Delhi) urging the formation of an Andhra Province immediately.

(Authorised Copy)

G. V. Subbarao
Convener of the Meeting
General Secretary, All India
League of Linguistic

Rajahmundry,
2-7-47.

Forwarded to Hon'ble
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Cons

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All India League of Linguistic Provinces.

Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya,
Reception Chairman.

Guntur,
30th April, 1947.

PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA,
Rec'd on 4 MAY 1947
No. 841/47 PDA

Dear Babu Rajendra Prasad

When I last visited Delhi, in the first week of March, I couldnot enjoy the pleasure of meeting you, as you were there absent from the City. I now write this to make of you a special request, which, I hope, you will kindly accept.

You know the question of re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis has been agitating the country for many years past. And the principle has not only been accepted by the Congress, but has been practically adopted by it in having formed linguistic provinces throughout India. It is also a recognised fact that this division of provinces on linguistic basis has immensely helped the National movement and has been mainly responsible for the great awakening among the masses, without which the Congress would not have been what it is to-day. Now that the Constituent Assembly is busily engaged in the framing of a Constitution for India, it is essential that this question of linguistic provinces should be accepted by the Constituent Assembly and a suitable provision should be incorporated in the Constitution for the re-division of pro-

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vinces in the country. Probably you are aware that a League of Linguistic Provinces was formed here last year; and the inaugural meeting proposed to be held in January last could not be held for some unavoidable reasons. It is now decided to hold the meeting in Madras on the 12th of May, when you are also visiting the place. It will be in the fitness of things if you could kindly make it convenient to open the meeting. Hoping that you will be good enough to accept this request.

With Kind regards,

Yours Sincerely,

Kowda Venkatappayya

Chairman, Reception Committee.

P.S.
I may add that Dr. Radhakumud Mukherje, M.A. Ph.D., has kindly consented to preside over the meeting.

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D.O. No. P.4/48

emier, Vindhya
Nowgong, May 28

My dear Dr. Sahib, 99 27

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With this letter I am sending to you Shri Pita Adhwaryu, my co-worker and one of the most prominent fig in Praja Mandal circles in Vindhya Pradesh. Besides de this letter he will also put forward our claim and he kindly be regarded as representing me.

I invite your attention to the news publish press regarding your letter to the Hon. Premier of B inviting him to send up the names of three members fo proposed Commission on linguistic basis. I ve recei such invitation and am writing this to put forward the claim of Vindhya Pradesh for representation on the said Commission. It will be greatly appreciated by the people of this Pradesh if a similar invitation is soon extended to us, and I hope and trust you will please direct the rectification of the omis

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
(K. P. Saxena)

Dr. Shri Rajendra Prasad,
President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.

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15 Windsor Place
New Delhi
1/6/48

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આદરણીય,

મેં આપની ઇચ્છા મેં પ્રધાન મંત્રી વિશ્વંભરદેવ
ના મંત્રાલય માંથી લેવા તપાસ કરી. પણ મેં શ્રી
પંત વગેરે સાથે જે ચર્ચા કરી તેમાં એ બાબત ની
પ્રધાનની પ્રધાન મંત્રી વિશ્વંભર દેવ સાથે ચર્ચા
ગયા હતા.

કેટલી મેં ત્યાર પછી મિનિટો મેં ખબર રહી
તમો કોંગ્રેસ પંગા બન્ન ની જાણ બાર તમા કુલ
ઉલ્લેખનીય પુલમાંથી હવે B.T.C.C. મેં રહ્યા આજ કે
મેં દી આપ્યા કુલ્લિ ચૌદ મેં બારમા કોંગ્રે
અટે: ગાંધી ટિકિટ કે બારમા મેં આપની
પંક્તિ મેં ગઈ આપારદર્શ અને અટે
પણ અંધ લોક આપી પંક્તિ મેં ક્રોધિત હતી

આદરણીય ડોક્ટર શ્રી રાજેન્દ્ર પ્રસાદજી
રાષ્ટ્રપતિ ભવન, નવી દિલ્હી

આપનો પંક્તિ
મીતાબહેન

~~402~~ 101 (139) Tikamgarh
C.I.
23/5/45

My dear Saksena (ji),

Kindly read the accompanying cutting. Hope you will be very very careful in selecting our representative. In my humble opinion Sj. Prem Narayan Khare will be our best प्रति निधि.

सक्सेना जी हमें मुसीबत में डाल सकते हैं। इस समय बड़े बड़े भगत भक्त हमारी इस छोटी सी मंडली को हड़पने के लिये प्रत्यन्त उत्सुक प्रतीत होते हैं। वे अपने प्रचार में लगे हैं। उनकी प्रशंसा सभाएँ जारी हैं!

Let us keep ourselves wide awake. Our Publicity Dept. must be very well organised.

सक्सेना जी का पता तो लगा लीजिये। वे हैं कहाँ? विलासपुर के लिये इस लो। प्रयत्न शील हैं।

विनीत
बालकृष्ण शर्मा

P.T.O

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REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO PREMIERS

BOMBAY May 20—Dr Rajendra Prasad Congress President has asked Mr B. G. Kher Bombay Premier to recommend the names of three members for the proposed commission to inquire into the redistribution of provinces on linguistic areas in Bombay namely, Maharashtra Karnatak and Gujarat.

Mr Kher says that the Congress President has addressed similar letter to all provincial Premiers to nominate one representative from each linguistic area on the proposed commission

It is therefore, expected that the personnel of the commission will be announced after all the provinces have sent their replies to the Congress President.—U.P.I.

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Linguistic Provinces

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1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
24th June, 1948.

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Dear Sir,

Your letter dated 28th May was received when I was ill. So I could not attent to it before this. A Commission has already been appointed and as it has nothing to do with Vindhya Pradesh, we have not asked you to nominate an associate member for it.

Yours sincerely,

RP

(Rajendra Prasad)

Sj. K.P. Saxena,
Premier, Vindhya Pradesh,
Nowgong.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

K. J. [illegible], M.A., M.Litt.
Journalist.

Tel: Sreemathy. Phone: 3129
"Easwari Building"
No. 7, Thana Street,
Purasawalkam, Madras, 7.

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3rd. June. '48.

Dear Sir,

I am sending per separate Post a copy of a Memorandum on " The Menace of Linguistic Provinces in India vis-a-vis Sri Nad Province", which I have submitted to the Prime Minister of India for favour of your kind perusal and sympathetic consideration. My services are always at yur disposal in any matter connected with theis question.

I am also sending you a copy of a letter the Editor of the "Hindu" on the New Madras Ordinance. Although my artcle is in defence of the Ordinance, I disagree with some of the unwise provisions in the Ordinance as pointed out in the Memorandum of the subject submitted to you by The Madras Civil Liberty Union. Eventhough I attended the working the Committee of the Civil Liberty Union on Special Invitation when the Memorandum was finalised, I could not raise my voice in protest against

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the condemnation of the other aspects of the Ordinance. If the unwise provisions of the Ordinance relating to Decontrol and Capitalism are not withdrawn immediately the present Madras Ministry will possibly go to peices on that score. I don't like the congress to be discredited because of the unwise provisions in the Ordinance.

Please go through my Memorandum and do the needful in the mater of arresting the agitation in favour of the linguistic Province.

Thanking you=

Yours sincerely=

K. Kamaraj

To

Hon'ble .Dr.Rajendra Proasad,
President,
The Indian National Congress,
NEW DELHI.

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THE NEW MADRAS ORDINANCE.

Sir,

The criticisms levelled against the Madras Ordinance II of 1948 are understandable to some extent since it is the civic duty of the public to point out the drastic provisions of such a draconian piece of law. While I do appreciate the anxiety of the public in regard to the Ordinance, the public also should realise the extraordinary circumstances under which such an Ordinance was issued by the Governor. After-all, it is the Executive who carries on the administration of the Province by initiating and implementing State policy. The Executive alone has got a first-hand knowledge of the over-all danger to the security of the State as expressed in and through the Communist troubles in the Province. A popular Government like the one in the Madras Province cannot be normally expected to ignore the feelings of the public with impunity. They dare not ride roughshod over the precious liberty of the individual because it is politically suicidal to their best interests. So, the public must realise that the Madras Ministry would not have resorted to the promulgation of such a Governor's Ordinance under normal circumstances. Extra-ordinary situations call for extra-ordinary action on the part of the Government. A popular Ministry as the one we have in Madras would not have resorted to such an apparently high-handed procedure unless the situation eminently warranted it. Poison

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must be neutralised by poison, and any loss of time would prove fatal.

It is well known that the issue of the Ordinance was due to the abnormal situation lately created by the upheaval of Communist uprisings in several parts of the Province. Government must have found it virtually impossible to track down effectively those fugitives from justice who have been carrying on their nefarious activities from their places of hiding. So, if those who aid and abet such law-breakers are also brought under the purview of penal action, atleast some of these absconders could be eventually brought to book. Those Communist terrorists who have been deliberately creating unnecessary strikes in the province and who have been brazen-facedly indulging in an orgy of violence in several parts of the Province, should be arrested at any cost, even though it might technically impinge on the laudable ideal of the liberty of the individual. We should not, in an expansive mood, labour the point of freedom of the individual and the rights of the Judiciary when we ought to realise the supreme necessity of dealing with the Communist menace effectively. If the Government and the Public unwittingly play fast and loose with Communists by a doctrinaire approach to the problem, Communists will sooner or later establish a dictatorship in the country and pawn India to Russia. They have got immense patience to wait for any length of time for achieving their objective. We know how much civil liberty will be left for the individual under such a political set-up.

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As Mr. Vizhinsky declared at the San Fransisco Conference, Soviet Russia does not expect tolerance from others and does not extend tolerance to others. So, our Communist revolutionaries in the Province should not naturally expect tolerance from the Government or from the Public since they know, in all conscience, that their ultimate aim is to subvert the present political and social order for setting up a dictatorship of the Soviet pattern. So, neither they nor their sympathisers and dupes need blame the Government for the strong arm of the law directed against them. However, the unwary public who are brought up in the traditions of liberalism, will be ordinarily shocked to find that such a drastic action will probably lead to a steady deterioration of democracy and attrition of individual liberty. But we have to realise that under the clumsy and hair-splitting Anglo-Saxon system of law of evidence as obtaining in India, it is extremely difficult for the Executive to prove such cases in the courts of law. The Executive will feel a sense of frustration when bona fide cases against offenders are promptly thrown out in the courts of law for lack of evidence of the strictly formal variety. Hence the clever subterfuge on the part of persons like Mr.N.M.Joshi by associating the terms "High Court" and "High Court Judge" in their subtle propaganda speeches to discredit the Executive. So, unless and until we change the system of law of evidence, preferably on the French model, we shall be obliged occasionally to seek refuge in extra-ordinary

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legislation like Ordinance II. The time is too serious for us to indulge in meticulous discussions on legal technicalities and judicial proprieties. The matter has got to be tackled from the political point of view and from the view point of the security of the State. The policy of high judicial personages indulging in tendencious talk about the relationship between the Executive and the Judiciary must also be strongly deprecated.

Similarly, another matter that ought to engage the attention of the public in this connection is the law-making powers of the Judiciary in India as expressed in the case law. Case law in India has often been carried too far, and it has become the happy hunting ground of clever lawyers and some busy bodies amongst the members of the Judiciary. Too much emphasis on case law has resulted in the colossal waste of time in the law courts. Lawyers vie with each other in flaunting their scholarship in case law before the judge and the clients mainly for creating an impression! If the practice of quoting cases during arguments in law courts is given the go by in India, as in Russia, it will save a lot of time of the public. Then the Judges will be obliged to confine their attention to statute law and its interpretation in the light of the facts of the case. This will preclude the possibility of statute law being placed under of the knife of the Judiciary. Let the Judiciary interpret the law and not create law. Let the representatives of the people make the law and amend it if and when necessary.

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Under extra-ordinary circumstances like the present one, even Ordinances like the Madras Ordinance II of 1948 should be welcomed by the public to a large extent. After all, the Madras Legislature can later on discuss it when it meets next and make suitable changes if they are called for. Till that time, let the Executive take effective steps to utilise the provisions of the Ordinance to track down the culprits who have been deliberately creating trouble for the people and the Government by acts of lawlessness and violence.

Yours sincerely
K. J. Jacob

Madras.
1.6.'48.

(True copy)

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The Commission to consider the creation of new provinces has been appointed and its associate members also have been named. I think some remuneration will have to be fixed for them. I should like to know what remuneration is ordinarily paid to members of such Committees or Commissions appointed by the Government of India in their various ministries. A note on this point should be submitted to me at an early date for consideration. One question might arise in this connection which we should consider. Babu Jagat Narain Lal is a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly as also of the Constituent Assembly. If anything in the nature of a monthly salary is to be paid to the other members of the Commission, he would naturally also get the same. Would he be entitled to get it and retain his seat as a member of the Provincial Assembly or will he be treated as a person holding an office carrying on a remunerative work under the Government and as such disqualified as a member of the Provincial Assembly ? If this disqualification attaches to him, it should be considered as to how he could be remunerated without incurring this disqualification. There may be some amongst the associate members who also will probably be in the same position and if a decision is taken, it will govern them also.

Rajendra Prasad
24/6/46

Secretary,
C.A.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Dehra Dun(U.P.).
13-6-48.

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter dated the 3rd June, together with your note on the New Madras Ordinance and your Memorandum on the Linguistic Provinces. I have read the ~~letter~~ memorandum with great interest and am forwarding it to the office of the Constituent Assembly of India to be placed before the Commission which has been appointed to go into the matter. As you say, you are going to print the Memorandum, If that be so, you will send copies of the same to the Secretary of the Commission care of Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi, as also any further ~~examination~~ supplementary that you desire to make before that commission.

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri K.J.Jacob, M.A.Litt.,
"Easwari Building",
No. 7, Thana Street,
Purasawalkam, Madras 7.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

CONGRESS HOUSE
Vithalbhai Patel Road
Bombay-4.

Telegrams: "CONGRESS"
Telephones: 45211 (Ext.) 42956 (President)

President:
S. K. PATIL
Vice-President:
M. Y. NURIE
Gen. Secretaries:
S. L. SILAM
P. S. THAKKAR
Treasurer:
B. A. KHIMJI

No 2500/48

Dated 15th June, 1948.

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear Rajenbabu,

Very soon you will be appointing a Boundary Commission to examine and demarcate the areas of - Karnatak and Maharashtra in case these have to be - carved out into separate Provinces.

I do not know what are going to be the terms of reference for such a Commission. You, however, are fully conversant with the strong feeling which the City of Bombay has got on this question of separate Provinces.

There are attempts to drag Bombay this way or that way. A considerable majority of this City is opposed to joining any separate Provinces thus created.

In case Maharashtra and also Gujerat are created into separate Provinces, the City of Bombay would like to be a small Province by itself, either governed by a Provincial administration or centrally governed.

My only request to you at this stage is to keep the terms of reference so wide as not to preclude the possibility of the City of Bombay along with a few adjoining tracts to be created into a separate autonomous Province, in case the Commission comes to that conclusion.

I took the liberty of writing this letter so that the case of Bombay may not go by default.

I hope you will not misunderstand me.

I am sure you must have improved your health by now.

More when we meet in Delhi for the Working Committee.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(S. K. PATIL.)

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Indian National Congress,
1, Queen Victoria Road,
NEW DELHI.

KV/-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

C.A 43/ (152) 114
-45- 27

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
23rd June, 1948.

My dear Patil,

I have received your letter dated 15th June regarding the terms of reference ~~and~~ of the Commission which I have appointed. I think, I have left the terms of reference as wide as possible and left it to the Commission to make any recommendation.

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Sj. S.K.Patil,
President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,
Congress House,
Bombay.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

AGENT-GENERAL
HYDERABAD

(camp) 26, Ridge Road,
Bombay, 25th June '48.

My dear Rajendra Babu

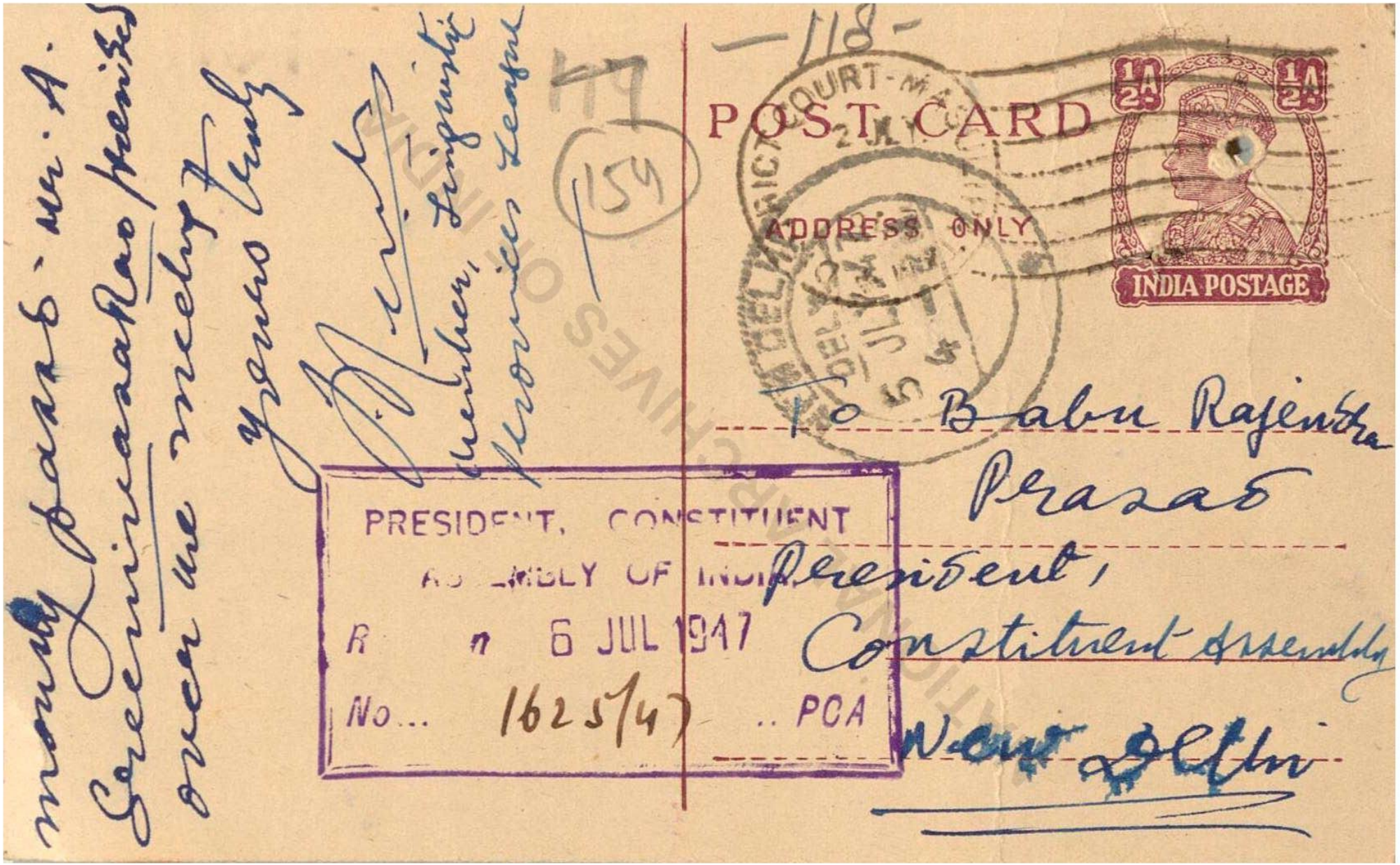
Many thanks for your letter of the 16th of June 1948. I am glad to learn that the terms of reference are wide enough to cover the question of the City of Bombay.

With kind regards,

Yours

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Constituent Assembly of India,
1, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA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DELHI DISTRICT COURT - M.

JUL 1947

PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
R 6 JUL 1947
No... 1625/47 .. PCA

To Babu Rajendra Prasad
President,
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

-118-

154

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru
Member, Interim
Government

Yours truly
Govind Ballabh Pant

Govind Ballabh Pant

Tekumalla Ramachandra Das, M.A.B.L., Vakil, Masulipatam

29/7/47

Subject:- Andhra Province immediately demanded

Sir,

As part of the Campaign for creating linguistic provinces, I have the honour to inform you that at a meeting held in Khajjillipet, Masulipatam on 29-6-47 a Resolution demanding immediate creation of Andhra Province and other linguistic provinces was unani-

P.S.& H.F.

(156) 21/7/48

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

PRESS NOTE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly has issued the following press note:-

The attention of this Secretariat has been drawn to a news item circulated by a certain news Agency purporting to give an account of the proceedings of the first meeting of the Linguistic Provinces Commission held on July 19, The meeting, at which the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly was present, discussed only the programme of work of the Commission, and the desirability of issuing a questionnaire at an early date. The suggestion contained in the Agency report that the terms of reference of the Commission have been widened or that the Commission may also be entrusted with the task of readjustment of boundaries is incorrect and has no basis whatsoever.

.....

H.R.G.
21.7.48

New Delhi,
July 21, 1948.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(157)

119

Copy of the letter from Shri Darab Cursetji Driver, President, Coal Consumers Association of India to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly, New Delhi dated 24th July, 1948.

31

I have addressed a letter dated 16th July 1948 to the Prime Minister, The Hon'ble Pandit Jewaharlal Nehru, suggesting a carving out of a new Province under the Centre covering (1) the major basic steel units in Singhbhum and Asansol and the coalfields of Jharia and Ranigunj as these two basic industries will be nationalised and (2) the State sponsored and State owned Damodar Valley and Sindri schemes, the proposed thermal power houses in the collieries, Mihijam Locomotive Works and the Works for synthetic petrol from coal etc.

I have given reasons for making this suggestion which may interest you especially the important reason that it will put an end to the present dangerous tension and ill feeling between Biharis and Bengalis.

The sityation in this area where I have suggested the creation of a new Province is abmormal with no similar parallel in any other part of the Dominion. This abnormality cannot be met except by an abnormal remedy of creating a new province under the Centre. In the normal course, the principle of language is generally a useful guide in the formation of a Province but in the case of our area, the position is exceptional and application of the normal principle of division on linguistic grounds does not meet the difficulty. The fivefold abnormality of our area consists in:

1. There are two major works of the basic steel industry procuding over 90% of India's output of steel with the possibility of a third works owned by Government.

2. There are two major coalfields in this area producing over 80% of India's output of coal.

3. The basic industries of both coal and steel are to be nationalised ofter ten years.

4. There is a bunch of Government sponsored and Government owned public works of the highest national importance all clustered in this small area.

5. The strategic defence of this area is a matter of paramount necessity. If this area is successfully bombed, or sabotaged, India's economy and defence would be shattered.

I would therefore submit that the application of the language principle to meet the requirements of this area would be futule adherence to theory.

As the President of the Constituent Assembly which will be the ultimate arbiter in this matter we submit to you that the aspect presented by our letter to Panditji regarding the creation of a new Province under the Centre may also be examined.

I am sending herewith a copy of our letter to Panditji referred to above and I am also sending you by separate post 10 more copies of the letter.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-121(158) 120

Copy of the letter from Darab Cursetji Driver, President, Coal Consumers Association of India to The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Government of India, New Delhi dated the 16th July 1948.

Dear Panditji,

Re: Desirability of having a separate province under the centre comprising the basic industries of coal and steel in Bihar and its immediate neighbourhood and the various Government sponsored national schemes like the Damodar Valley, Sindri, etc.

The Coal Consumers Association of India of which I happen to be the President was established to guard the interests of industrial consumers of coal and includes in its membership important units of iron & steel, cement, chemical etc., industries.

2. The Coal Consumers Association is very much perturbed by the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and the Mining Regulations issued by the Bihar Government as they will gravely affect the present and future production of coal.

3. The Association is also disturbed by the prospect of the high feeling roused by the Bengali-Behari controversy affecting the production of coal as will be seen from the excerpt given below from a recent private letter from the Jharia Coal fields from an expert source.

4. "The Bengali/Bihari issue seems to be coming to a head as far as Manbhum district is concerned, as there has been an open split in the District Congress Committee, and the Bengali elements have resigned en masse. This is likely to have further repercussions at collieries as many collieries employ Bengali personnel among the superior staff. There have already been several cases in Bihar of Bihari/ Bengali riots on collieries, and this latest developmeny is not likely to improve the situations".

4. In these very difficult circumstances, the Committee of the Association urge that the only practical solution of the dangerous influences that are besetting the production of coal which has been described as the bread of industries is to carve out a new Province under the Centre comprising the territory covering:-

(1) The basic industry of coal in the important coalfields in Jharia and the neighbouring Raniganj.

(2) The two major steel Works in the Singhbhum and Asansol areas with their ancillary companies in the neighbourhood - Tinplate Works, Locomotive Works, Wire & Steel Product Works, and the mines of raw materials required by the Iron & Steel Industry such as iron ore, lime-stone, dolomite, manganese, chromite, etc.

(3) The proposed Government sponsored and Government-owned Works of paramount national utility like:

(a) The Damodar Valley Scheme,
(b) The Sindri Sulphate Scheme,
(c) The Mihijam Locomotive Works,
(d) The large high-powered thermal stations in the Colliery area to generate power from low grade coal for the electrification of Railways, rural areas etc.
(e) The works for the production of synthetic petrol from the distillation of low grade coal, and
(f) One or the two new Government steel Works to be located probably near Asansol.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

4. The Copper smelting Works of the Indian Copper Corporation at Ghatsila in Singhbhum and the Aluminium Works near Asansol of the Aluminium Corporation of India.

5. The important Railway Workshops at Kharagpur and Jamalpur, and

6. The important military aerodromes existing and to be constructed near the above-mentioned areas for the protection of these industries of national importance.

5. The reasons supporting the proposal for this new Industrial Province, if it may be so called, under the Centre are:-

(1) The Government have already declared that their policy is to nationalise ultimately the coal and the the steel Industry, not to speak of the copper and aluminium industries and the most important units of these basic industries to be nationalised would be in this new Province with their ancillary industries and raw materials. It is only appropriate that such basic industries of national importance should be the concern of the Centre and not of a Province.

(2) The State-owned projects mentioned above are all very close to each other and would appropriately fit in this new Province under the Centre which will make for their efficient administration.

(3) The strategic importance of the safety and defence of this area compromising importance basic industries and State-owned projects of vital importance to the nation necessitates that to ensure the efficient defence of this industrial nerve centre of India by air and by land, both during War and industrial strikes, this area covering State Public Works and basic industries ultimately to be nationalised should be directly under the Centre. For instance, if at present during a strike at a colliery, the management wants the help of the military to prevent sabotage of essential machinery like the Power House, it has to apply to the local authorities and local authorities apply to their Head Quarters and they in their turn apply to the Provincial Government and on the approval of the Provincial Government, the Central Government sanctions military help and on occasions irreparable damage is done before the military help ultimately arrives. This unavoidable delay which occurs under the present system in time of crisis will be cut short if this Industrial area is directly under the Centre.

(4) We cannot have one set of mining rules and regulations and sales tax to govern the Jharia coalfield and another set to govern the neighbouring Raniganj coalfield without bringing confusion into the Industry. It would be disastrous if the different Provincial Governments in the major coalfields of Jharia and Raniganj were left to follow their own coal policies. Similarly, we cannot have one set of Provincial Regulations for the Steel Industry at Jamshedpur and another set for the same Industry near Asansol. All this confusion and unhelpful Provincial interest in the development of our basic mineral industries will be avoided by the creation of this new Province under the Centre.

(5) There is a tendency in certain Provinces to restrict by Provincial regulations the entry of non-provincials into industries operating in their Province. This unfortunate, unconstitutional and separatist tendency will be check-mated by the creation of the proposed new Province under the Centre, at least so far as the major basic industries of coal and steel are concerned.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(6) There is every prospect that the area indicated for a new Industrial Province will attract new basic industries like that of chemicals and many secondary industries because in this area, relatively speaking, coal, electric power, and steel will be cheapest, not to speak of the covenience of cheap electrified rail transport, in the near future.

(7) To such a highly industrialised area with potentiality of much further industrialisation certain administrative facilities ancillary to industrial development are essential such as, for example, prompt action by Government for land acquisition on reasonable terms, and ready response to an application to lay an aerial ropeway etc. But these facilities are generally inordinately delayed by the present set-up of Provincial Governments; sometimes complete files are missing in the Secretariat; sometimes the officer concerned has not the file sent up to him from below; it would seem as if the Secretariat does not care for industrial development of the province. In the meantime, the industries concerned who wanted land to be acquired or an aerial ropeway to be put up have to wait for months, sometimes, for a year or more. The experience of the Government of India as regards the delay in the acquisition of land for their Sindri Sulphate Scheme and the high price they had to pay for the land would indicate how much more difficult the position of private industries would be. Such long and expensive delays would be done away with in this new Industrial Province, the main business of whose administration would be the encouragement and development of industries.

(8) This new Industrial Province will still the Behari-Bengali controversy and put an end to the high tension and bitter feeling between these communities, because the people of this new Province will be weaned from narrow Provincialism as they find themselves working as nationals for the uplift of the State through the workingof India's basic industries.

(9) The Provincial Legislatures drawn mainly from agricultural and legal classes tend to turn a deaf year to the grievances of industries, biassed as they are against industries in general and their war time profits in particular especially when the industries concerned are started by Indians drawn from other Provinces than their own. In the case of our proposed new Province embracing some of the most important of our basic industries of national importance, to put it under the Centre is the necessary corrective to such a tendency.

6. The Committee will be obliged if this memorandum receives your consideration and if it is forwarded by you to the Commission appointed by the Constituent Assembly regarding the subject of the creation of new Provinces for which purpose ten more copies are being sent to you by registered book-post.

7. A line in acknowledgement from your Secretary will be appreciated.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~124~~ (161) 123

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(162) -125- 124

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6. The Committee will be obliged if this memorandum receives your consideration and if it is forwarded by you to the Commission appointed by the Constituent Assembly regarding the subject of the creation of new Provinces for which purpose ten more copies are being sent to you by registered book-post.

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Private (165) 32 127

New Delhi,
July 26, 1948.

My dear Sri Dar,

Mr. Bannerjee, the Secretary of the Committee saw me the other day after you had left and made a suggestion for my consideration. He is only the Secretary of the Committee and not a full member, and as such it is not possible for him to place his view points before the members with the same authority as a member can. He mentioned that but for your intervention his 'draft questionnaire' probably might not have been accepted. He has been put specially to assist the Committee on financial questions when they arise as he is a member of the Finance Department and has considerable experience of Provincial Finances. He says that when that time comes he may not be able to pull the weight that is necessary and he therefore suggests that he might also be made a member of the Committee. It is somewhat awkward at this stage to add to the membership but stillif the grounds he gave have validity, the matter may have to be considered. I consulted Sir B.N. Rau. He is of opinion that it will be awkward at this stage to add to the membership. At the same time he feels that there should be no difficulty for the Secretary in placing his points fully before the Committee. He said, he has experience as Chairman of several such commissions and committees in all of which the Secretary, though not a full member pulled his full weight and largely influenced the decisions of the committees. I shall be obliged for your views in the matter. Whatever decision there is, will be communited to Mr. Bannerjee privately by me and no reference will be made to the consultations I am having with you or with Sir B.N. Rau. I shall be obliged for an early reply.

Yours sincerely,

JN

Sri S.K. Dar,
Chairman,
Linguistic Provinces Commission.

1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
2-8-48.

My dear Shri Dave,

Many thanks for your letter dated 28th July. I have not keeping well and I am going away to Pilani today for a change. I have asked Sir B.N. Rao to talk the matters over with Mr. Bannerji and I think there will be no occasion for troubling you again about it. On account of my ill health I have not been able to meet Dr. Pannalal but when I return, I shall take the opportunity of seeing him and talking to him.

Yours sincerely,

RP

(Rajendra Prasad)

To
Shri S.K.Dave,
37, Canning Road,
Allahabad.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

128

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

129 (167) 33

37 Canning Road,
Allahabad.
~~Council House,~~

~~New Delhi, the~~ July 28, 1948.

My dear Sri Rajen Babu,

I have your letter dated July 26.

I am definitely of opinion that the Secretary of the Linquistic Provinces Commission should be an officer of the Finance Department and it will not be proper at this stage to find a new Secretary or to make Mr. Bannerjee a member of the Commission.

I am sorry to hear that Mr. Bannerjee is not satisfied with his position. Perhaps some thoughtless act of ours has given him this cause. It was always my intention to discuss with him all matters which came before the Commission and to let him take a major part in preparing the financial side of the Report. And after your letter of this afternoon, I shall try not to give him an impression that we do not value his advice or cooperation, or that he is not pulling his weight.

Dr. Panna Lal is in Delhi, staying with his son and his address is known to the office. Perhaps it will be a

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~127~~ (168)

good thing if you could meet him and explain to him your point of view and if he takes the same view as I do of Mr. Bannerjee's position, there should be no further difficulty in the matter. In my opinion the constitutional position of the Secretary, as explained by Sir B.N. Rao, is correct and the Secretary is fully entitled to take part in discussions and to place his views before the Commission.

Perhaps what I have said above will meet the situation, but if any further difficulty remains, kindly let me know what it is and I shall do all I can to smooth it.

Yours sincerely,

S. K Das

~~1/36~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Council House,

New Delhi, the 2nd August, 1948.

PRESS NOTE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly has issued the following press note:-

A question has been raised in certain quarters as to the authority under which the President of the Constituent Assembly has appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission. The Commission has been appointed by the President to assist the Constituent Assembly in arriving at final decisions on the provisions to be inserted in the Draft Constitution in connection with Linguistic Provinces. The President has, in the past, appointed ad hoc Committees to assist the Assembly in its work; e.g., the Committee on the National Flag. Moreover, in the present case, the Drafting Committee also has suggested the appointment of such a Commission. Action under section 290 of the Governmat of India Act, 1935, is a matter for the Government of India: if the Commission recommends the creation of new Provinces under that section, it will be for the Government of India to consider the recommendation.

No. F. 1-P/48.

My Dear Rajendra Babu,

RE: RE-DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES.

Even in the midst of your heavy preoccupations I am claiming a few minutes not because I do not know how busy you are, but because I believe that the matter about which I am writing claims your immediate attention.

The question of the redistribution of provinces has reached a certain stage in the process of Constitution - making. A resolution in terms of the recommendation made by the Sub-Committee appointed by a joint Sessions of the Union and Provincial Constitution Committees awaits the next sessions of the Constituent Assembly. I do not want to anticipate the result; but I want to say some thing apart from that.

Some of us have reasons to apprehend that there is a conscious or unconscious attempt to concede the claim of Andhras straightway and postpone sine die all other claims. Not that I grudge the Andhras their success but I submit that it is certainly detrimental to postpone other claims.

My humble plea is that such an attempt, if there be one, is unjust and unfair and to say the least not very statesmanlike.

Some seem to approach the whole problem quite lightly and say that some leaders want power in the would-be provinces and hence the agitation. This is as puerile as saying that some of you were fighting for Independence for getting power yourselves. Some others ask us as to whether we are not treated fairly now. My reply is - equally emphatic that that is not the real reason behind this demand.

We started our political life in Karnatak in 1920 with a two-fold objective, "Swaraj for India and Unification for Karnatak". I put it as "स्वतंत्र भारत और एकीकृत कर्नाटक". For us, it is not a small guidance here and a petty tyranny or injustice there that matters. Ours is a basic aspiration and we believe that real democracy can scarcely function or develop in any area where there is lack of homogenity and a common medium.

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We have seen the advantages of a lingustic province in Congress work during the last twenty seven years and when the time and opportunity for the formation of ~~the~~ an administrative province has come we do not want to be frustrated. Now that Swaraj has come and we can put our house in order we must be busy doing it. I may tell you here that our dream is to bring in all the Kannada people, even in the States and especially in Mysore, in one United ~~Kernata~~ Karnataka Province. But things as they exist now allow us only to start with eight districts. But that has to be done - immediately as a step towards the realisation of the full dream.

This aspiration has never blinded me at any rate to hard facts and difficulties. But now I see that the hand of the foreigner is completely off us and there are no difficulties in our way but those that we may ourselves create or imagine. Therefore, I believe that this is the time when the legitimate aspirations of our people deserve to be fulfilled. They can well be entrusted with their own future as a province.

I know that this is not the place for me to argue out the case. But I must urge upon your attention the necessity to do the needful in the matter. No diffuculty need be allowed to seem too great to be overcome by all of us together. In fact, by freeing ourselves, we have -- bargained for difficulties and I believe we have the ability to solve them.

This problem, in my humble opinion, is a major one and does not lend itself either to be postponed or tinkered with. If I may be allowed to give an analogy, it is on all fours with 'the problem of nationalities' that Stalin tackled so successfully when the Soviet Constitution was drafted. He inspired even the smallest group of people with the idea that their destiny was safe in their own hands and that they would have all facilities for development - and so they have.

A similar attitude alone on the part of elders here can create the same confidence in the various peoples and provinces. A move for redistribution of provinces in so vast a country at this ~~juncture~~ juncture ought not to be branded as 'fissiparous tendency' which definitely it is ~~not~~ not. I can understand non-congressmen saying it, but certainly not those who are fammiliar with Congress ~~traditio~~

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~~135~~ (172) 134

traditions.

I do not think I should burden this letter with more words since we are to meet soon. I await your kind reply.

Yours in service

R R Diwakar

TIONAL ARCHIVES OF IN

VEDALAYAM

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MEMBER: 'BOARD OF STUDIES' GOVT. OF MADRAS
MEMBER: WORKING COMMITTEE: ALL-INDIA AYURVED MAHAMANDAL
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VICE-PRESIDENT: PROVINCIAL R. M. PS' ASSOCIATION
DIRECTOR: MADRAS PROVINCIAL INDIAN MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS' CO-OP. PHARMACY & STORES LTD.

PEDAPALEM P. O.
(Via) Duggirala, (S. I.)

Date *10th, August 1947.

LEAGUE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES.

To,

The Hon'ble BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD,
President: CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY,
NEW DELHI.

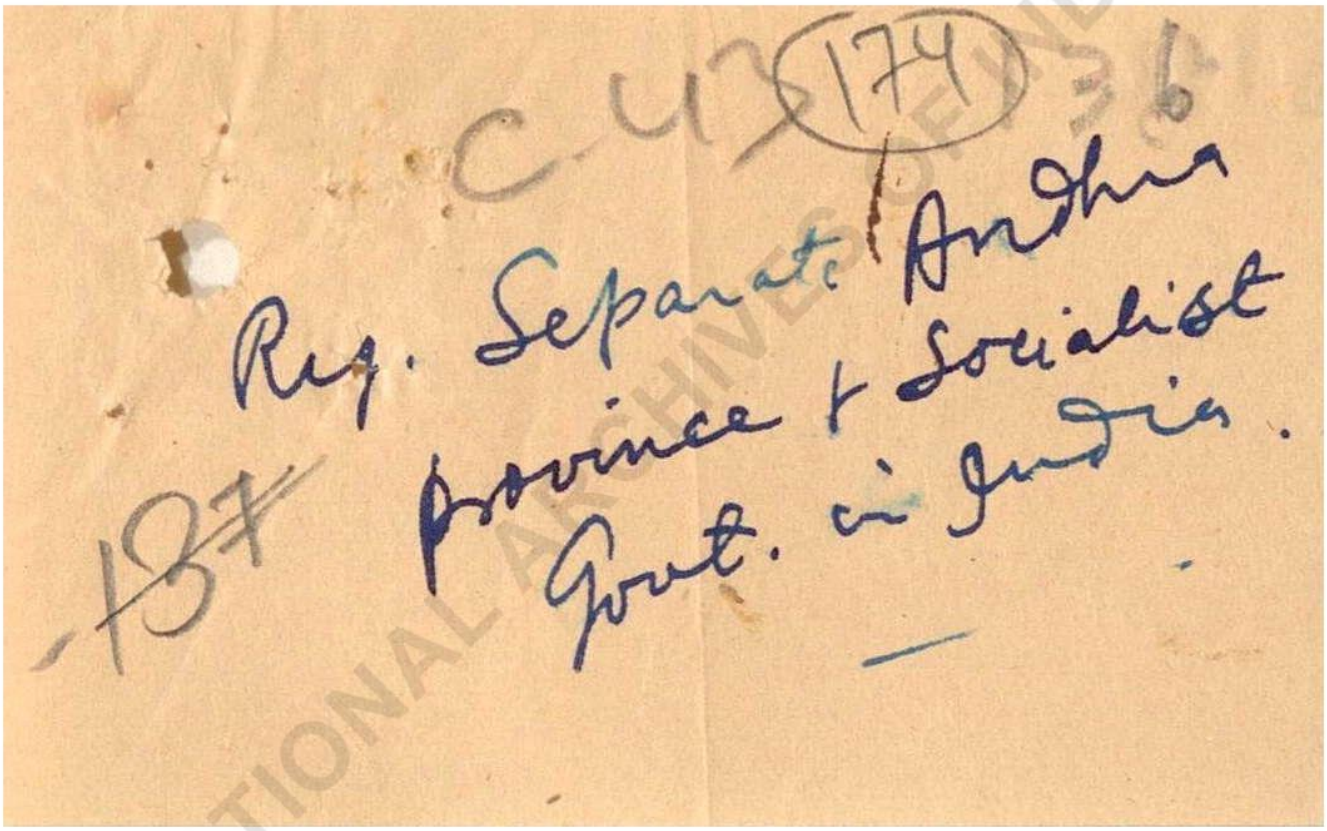
Respected Sir,

Subject: ANDHRA PROVINCE.

We demand immediate declaration for formation of ANDHRA PROVINCE before August 15th.

Yours sincerely,

T L Kanta Rao
V. Srinivasa Rao
J. Venkateswarlu.
Jandhyala Subrahmanya Sarma.
Malempati Venkatanarasaiah


C 42 (174)
Rly. Separate Andhra
Province + Socialist
Govt. in India.
187

From

B. Sree Ramachandra Murthy
General Secretary
Town Student's Congress
Vizagapatam.

To Hon. Sri. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
The President
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi.

Vizagapatam
9-8-47.

137 JAI HIND 175 138 37

PRESIDENT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (SECRETARIAT) DELHI
Recd on
No. 2639/47.

Respected Sir,

The general body meeting of the Town Student's Congress, held on 3rd instant, in Poornatheatre, Vizagapatam, ~~for your~~ resolved the following for your favorable consideration.

(1) While welcoming the formation of the Indian Dominion we urge that the Republic of India should be formed as a Socialist Republic of all toiling masses, which must come earlier than June 48.

(2) We resolve, that the Dominion Govt. of India must take all necessary steps for the immediate formation of Andhra Province,

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176 for ~~an~~ separate ministry from Aug 15th and before appointment of a Boundary commission for the demarcation of boundaries, declare Telugu as the medium of instruction in all the twelve Telugu districts.

Yours
Sri Hind,

B Sree Ramachandra
Gen. Secy
Town Students' Congress

Received 18.8.47

1/39/

~~Astt~~

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CHIMANLAL C.SHAH,
M.A., LL.B.
SOLICITOR.

EXAMINER PRESS BUILDING,
35, DALAL STREET, FORT.

Bombay 6th August 1948

Regd. A.D.

To,

Babu Rajendra Prasad
President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.

Ref. Bombay's inclusion in Maharashtra.

Sir,

The Linguistic Provinces Commission appointed by you as President of the Constituent Assembly has commenced its work and has issued a questionaire. It has inter alia, asked about the cities of Bombay and Madras and the province of Maharashtra.

Leading Congressmen in Maharashtra including the President of the M.P.C.C. and the general secretary of the Congress demand a United Province of Maharashtra and claim Bombay as part of it. The President of the M.P.C.C. called a meeting at Bombay yesterday of the Maharashtrian members of the Bombay Legislature where the demands above mentioned were unanimously confirmed. Two of the Maharashtrian Ministers of the Government of Bombay attended that Conference and joined in the demands. They did not think it necessary to call at this conference even the members of the Legislature elected from Bombay city itself. Their opinion

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opinion was not necessary.

So far as Bombay is concerned, all non-Maharashtrians - Parsis, Muslims, Christians, Gujratis, Sindhis and Punjabis- who form -- the majority of the public of Bombay are -- emphatically opposed to the inclusion of -- Bombay in Maharashtra. According to recent figures, Maharashtrians in Bombay are - - - about 39%, non-Maharashtrians being 61%. -- But this is not the only ground of opposi-- -tion.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has expressed no opinion so far. The matter came before the Bombay Corporation yesterday and it has appointed a sub-committee to --- draft reply to the Commission's questionaire a copy of which has been sent to the Mayor. The Congress members as also the members of the Socialist party are sharply divided, the Maharashtrians in both parties being on one side, the non-Maharashtrians on the other. Mr. S.K.Patil, President of the B.P.C.C. at a party meeting expressed the opinion that - the question should be shelved for 10 years but did not express any opinion what should become of Bombay if it was decided to form

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

a province of Maharashtra. The Bombay Ministry and -- its Prime Minister have expressed no opinion so far. A member of the Linguistic Commission, Mr.Pataskar -- attended the Conference called by the President of --- the M.P.C.C. yesterday and joined in the demands. He has already made up his mind.

I do not know of any Maharashtrian who has -- openly opposed the demand for inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra. When it comes to a linguistic province, - Maharashtrianism or nationalism or socialism is at a dis- -count. The Congress Municipal party of Bombay will very soon have to discuss this problem with a view to decide its policy to the reply to be sent to the --- questionaire of the Commission. It is difficult to -- say what will be the result but it will be a battle royal. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee will also have to decide its attitude.

Has the Congress any policy in the matter or -- does it leave its members free to decide? Will it - give its members in legislatures and local bodies -- any mandate? Are the leaders of the Congress free to carry on propaganda for one view or the other? The Commission in its questionaire has envisaged the --

possibility

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L4Q (180) 1945

possibility of a large scale transference of population and consequent human suffering and has inquired what steps should be taken for its prevention. Shall we have to repeat the tragedy of Punjab and Sind even if on a smaller scale ?

Sir, This is a very serious matter and calls for immediate attention. It has become urgent because of the questionaire issued by the Commission which has got to be replied to before 16th of this month.

May I request the favour of an early reply ?

Yours obediently,

V. C Shah

I may add that I am a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation & of the Congress party.

C.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

11/ 744 (181) 143

Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 30, 1948.

Dear Shri Shah,

I received your letter of the 6th August but could not send an early reply on account of my indisposition.

The All India Congress Committee has not issued any directive to congressmen with regard to the inclusion of Bombay in any of the linguistic Province, that may be recommended by the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I am also afraid, I cannot answer the particular question regarding the line that congress members are to take on this question with the Municipal Corporations or such other bodies. They should decide for themselves

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri Chimanlal C. Shah,
Examiner Press Building,
35, Dalal Street, Fort,
Bombay.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-145- (182) 146

Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 30, 1948.

Dear Shri Shah,

I received your letter of the 6th August but could not send an early reply on account of my indisposition.

The All India Congress Committee has not issued any directive to congressmen with regard to the inclusion of Bombay in any of the linguistic Province, that may be recommended by the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I am also afraid, I cannot answer the particular question regarding the line that congress members are to take on this question with the Municipal Corporations or such other bodies. They should decide for themselves.

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri Chimanlal C. Shah,
Examiner Press Building,
35, Dalal Street, Fort,
Bombay.

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~~145~~

~~146~~ (183)

39

Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
The 10th August, 1948.

Dear Sir,

Please excuse me for not writing to you earlier acknowledging your letter dated the 30th July 1948 relating to the formation of linguistic Provinces. I have forwarded the letter to the Linguistic Provinces Commission which will undoubtedly give consideration to the points raised by you. I regret, it is not possible at this stage to cancel the appointment of the Commission and the best thing that you could do would be to assist the Commission with your views.

Yours sincerely,

Spare Copy

(Rajendra Prasad)

Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gaur, DCL.,Ll.D.,MCA.,
Vice Chancellor, Saugor University

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

147 (184) 40 146

I have received two representations, one from the Engineering Association of India and the other from the President, Coal Consumers Association of India, suggesting the carving out of a new province of the area comprising the coal-fields and the iron and steel works in the Asansol Sub-division of West Bengal and Manbhum District, parts of Singhbhum District and Santhal Parganas and Hazaribagh Districts of Bihar. The suggestion is made that this question should also be referred to the Linguistic Provinces Commission for investigation. I would like to have the implications of the proposal examined and also a precis of public opinion expressed through newspapers on the proposal before any decion can be taken. It is obvious that the Linguistic Boundaries Commission will not be a suitable body for investigating this question as its personnel has been selected from a different point of view. Nor do I think that the time is ripe for a commission to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly to take up this matter. It is evidently a novel proposal, the principle underlying which, if accepted, will have to be ~~accepted~~ applied to other potentially rich but undeveloped tracts and several new provinces on the basis of their industrial capacity will have to be created. Indeed if a province under the Centre is necessary for an area which has been developed to a certain extent, it is still more necessary for ~~xx~~ undeveloped areas so that their development might be planned beforehand, and the necessary result of the acceptance of this policy will be the creation of new provinces from time to time as industrialisation proceeds. It means a process of continuous disintegration of the existing provinces and the creation of enclaves outside local popular control. It might intend towards monopolising

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developments and create administrative problems of a complex nature. I would like to have these implications examined in ~~x~~ detail so that a suitable reply may be sent to the Coal Consumers Association of India and the Engineering Association of India. A draft may be sent to me along with other material.

I am enclosing printed copy of the representation on behalf of the Engineering Association of India and a letter together with its annexure from the Coal Consumers Association of India.

(Rajendra Prasad)

Pilani,
10 Aug 48

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A meeting of the general body of Akalkot Municipality was held on 28-7-48 in which a resolution was unanimously passed that Akalkot State should be permanently joined to Sholapur district in Maharashtra. The resolution in Marathi and in English both is attached here with.

Municipal Office
Akalkot
12 August 1948

Municipal President
Akalkot

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Resolution.

(187) 149

Akalkot State has been merged on 8th March 1948 in Bombay Province. Akalkot State is and should be a Taluka in Sholapur District and Thus The State should be permanently joined to Maharashtra on The following grounds:-

1) From reading The history of Maharashtra we find That Akalkot State was created and founded by Maratha Kings. Since its inception and before That too, Akalkot State was under The control of The authorities at Satara. Later on it came under The supervision of commissioner central division, Bombay, and Collector of Sholapur. Thus for a considerable period Akalkot was under The direct Supervision of The Collector of Sholapur.

2) The Collector of Sholapur was The Political Agent of Akalkot.

3) In The minority of The late Shahaji Raja about The year 1867 The appellate work was looked to by The Collector of Sholapur.

4) The Police Department of Akalkot State was under The direct management of The D.S.P. of Sholapur.

5) The people of Akalkot (State) are more accustomed to and related in many respects

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to the people of Sholapur district. (188)

(150) 6) The local merchants have great dealings with shops and firms in Sholapur.

(151) 7) Akalkot is nearer to Sholapur than Bijapur.

8) There are direct roads and communications between Akalkot and Sholapur which always helps the people of Akalkot in their trade and every day life. It takes only an hour or so to travel between Sholapur and Akalkot while one has to travel by railway only and that too with the intermediating of a junction which route takes more than half a day to reach Bijapur.

9) People of Akalkot (state) find it easier to have recourse to Law Courts of Sholapur than to do the same at Bijapur. The public will be greatly inconvenienced in being compelled to have recourse to courts at Bijapur.

10) The language of Akalkot and its many parts is Marathi both in speech and writing including that of those who speak canarease. The accounts of all merchants are written in Marathi. The Court language is Marathi and all the records of all public offices and courts are kept in Marathi. There are some canarease speaking people but none is able to read and write canarease.

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(189) Thease will be a great hardship on the people of Akalkot if they now will be compelled to learn canarease from beginning. 151

11) Even now the Collector of Sholapur is the chief Administrator for Akalkot and the Police Department is in the charge of police authorities at Sholapur, which fact clearly shows the affinity between Akalkot & Sholapur in all respects.

12) Culturally, socially and economically, the people of Akalkot State are one with these of Sholapur for more than two hundred years.

Linguistic affinities, Geographical Situation and Administrative point of view should be taken into consideration.

For all these reasons, we here by most humbly and respectfully urge that Akalkot (State) should be joined to Sholapur district in Maharashtra and not to Bijapur in Karnataka.

~~~x~~~

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अक्कलकोट संस्थान मुंबई सरकारात वेलोर डॉक्ट असून तो पूर्वश सोलापूर जिल्ह्याच्या दक्षिण भागात आहे हे संस्थान महाराष्ट्रातील सोलापूर जिल्ह्याच्या दक्षिण-पूर्व जोडणारा आहे.

१) अक्कलकोट संस्थानचा ऐतिहासिक परंपरा फार पूर्वी पासून महाराष्ट्राशी निगडित असलेली आहे त्या मुळेच राजकीय सर्व संबंध सोलापूर जिल्ह्याशी आलेले आहेत सोलापूर जिल्हा हाच सर्व दृष्टिने आहे त्याचा ऐतिहासिक व राजकीय संबंध विलग होऊ शकत नाही व असा विलग करणं अशिष्ट आहे.

२) अक्कलकोट संस्थानातील दिवाणी, फौजदारी, व मुलकी अपिले वगैरे पूर्वी सोलापूर कलक्टर व कमिशनर सी. डी. कडे चालत होती व त्यामुळे साहजिक अशाच कार्यपद्धती त्यामुळे सर्व राज्यकारभार सोलापूरचे कलक्टर पोलिटिकल एजंट यांनाच्या धाकाखाली असत.

३) अक्कलकोट संस्थान स्थापन झाले पासून ते त्याचे हे आगोदर पासून सदर संस्थानचे संबंध साताऱ्याकडे होते व पुढे ते सेंट्रल डिव्हिजनचे कमिशनर व सोलापूरचे कलक्टर यांच्या देखरेखीखाली आलेले आहे.

४) अक्कलकोट संस्थानातील सर्व कोर्ट कचेऱ्या व शाळा यातील सर्व कामकाज मराठीतूनच आहे व पूर्वीचे कामकाजी रेकॉर्ड व सनदा वगैरे महत्त्वाचे ऐतिहासिक कागद पत्रे वगैरे मराठीतूनच आहेत.

५) अक्कलकोट संस्थानची भाषा पूर्वी पासून मराठी आहे बहुसंख्य लोक मराठी बोलणारेच आहेत कानडी तिकडील काही काही लोक मराठी व कानडी दोन्ही भाषा बोलतात व लिहितात पण मराठी भाषेचा प्रसार व व्यवहार फार पूर्वी पासून मराठीतूनच चालू आहे अक्कलकोट ची मूळ भाषा कानडी असल्याचे असली तरी लिखाण पुरावे सर्व मराठी

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जोपासना केली असती तर दरवर्षी यात्रेला लाख कानडी जमून कानडीचे नि-
153 कूट बोलले जाऊन एकही कानडी ग्राहक येथे राहाता वाढती व नवीही
अक्कलकोट संस्थान कानडी आणखी जोडले गेल्याने सर्व कानडीचा सोयाधा
रिकाचा लोंढा व त्या मुळे अनेक अडचणी उद्भवून दोघांनाही जुलूम व अन्याय होणार आहे.

ब) अक्कलकोटचे व्यापारी दृष्टीने सोलापूर, पुणे, मुंबई वगैरे महाराष्ट्रीय शहराकडेच आहे
ते जवळ जवासाचे मार्ग म्हणजे रेल्वे व रस्ते हे सोलापूरहूनच सोईचे व जवळचे आहेत
अक्कलकोटचा मुख्य व्यापार सोलापूरकडेच आहे ते जवळ सुलभ व सर्व दृष्टीने सोईचे आहे
व हद्दीचे तालुकेचे बैलांना सोलापूराहून सहजी बैलगाडीचे साधनाची मदत मिळू शकते.

क) अक्कलकोट संस्थान धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, भौगोलिक, ऐतिहासिक व राज-
कीय दृष्ट्या सोलापूरशी फार पूर्वी पासून निगडीत असलेले असल्याने आता
ते विलग करणे अन्यायाचे मूळ होईल व सामाजिक घडी बिघडेल.

वरील सर्व बाबींचा विचार होऊन अक्कलकोट संस्थान महाराष्ट्रातील
सोलापूर डिव्हीजनला सामील करण्याचा निश्चित करावे अशी आमची
आग्रहाची मागणी आहे.

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

BALLIA RUDRAPUR ADARSHA MANDAL

16, Synagogue Street,

Calcutta 12th August., 1948.

Ref :_____

REGISTERED WITH A/D.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President,
All India Congress Committee,
New Delhi.

Dear Sir,

Re: Demarcation question on the boundary of the Districts of Ballia & Arrah.

With a view to have the above matter thoroughly discussed in your presence, our representative wants to personally call on you at your leisure period.

We would therefore request you to fix up the time and the date when a Free talk with you on the subject may be possible.

Awaiting your pleasure of response.

Yours faithfully,

Shri Ram ojha

(Secretary)

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154 (193) 155

11/

Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 28, 1948.

Dear Shri Ojha ji,

Your letter dated 12th August has been seen by me. I regret that I am unable to receive your representatives regarding the demarcation of the boundary between Ballia and Arrah Districts as I am not keeping well these days.

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri Shri Ram Ojha,
Secretary,
Ballia Rudrapur Adarsha Mandal,
16, Synagouge Street,
Calcutta.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

श्रीमन्नारायण अग्रवाल, एम. ए. (कलकत्ता);
एम. ए. (अलाहाबाद); एफ. आर. ई. एस. (लंदन),
आचार्य

गोविन्दराम सेकसारिया धार्मिक कॉलिज
पुरुषसिंह मुद्रालेखाः

वर्धा 24.8.1948

क्रमांक १४७९

परम पूजनीय बाबूजी,

सादर प्रणाम.

साथमें प्रान्तीय पुनर्रचना के बारेमें एक नोट भेज रहा हूं. इसमें मैंने एक नया सुझाव पेश किया है. आशा है आप उसे पसंद करेंगे. इसकी एक प्रति भाषावार प्रान्तीय कमिशन के पास भी भेज दी है.

आपका स्वास्थ्य सुधर रहा होगा. मेरे योग्य सेवा लिखिएगा.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A Note on

The Problem of Provincial Redistribution

By Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
Govindram Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha

After the attainment of political freedom the Congress is committed to the redistribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis. The activities of the Congress organisation have also been conducted all these years on the same basis. But, unfortunately, the question of provincial redistribution does not appear to be handled in a proper way and, consequently, there is anger, confusion and indecision in the minds of Congressmen as well as the public in general. Some Congress leaders are all for rearrangement of provinces on linguistic basis and are actively working to this end in their respective spheres. A few others are vehemently opposed to the formation of provinces on the basis of language and prophesy that 'provincialism' would lead to the disintegration of the Indian Union. But they have not placed any alternative scheme before us. Do they desire to continue the existing provincial boundaries which are based not on any scientific principles but on mere historical accidents? There are yet other Congress leaders who plead for the postponement of the issue for five or ten years because they think that other problems like those of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation and the soaring prices of consumer goods are more important demanding immediate solution. They, however, seem to have committed themselves to the creation of a separate Andhra Province perhaps to silence the bitter agitation that has been going on there for many years. Is this not an invitation to other linguistic areas for making themselves as unpleasant and vociferous as Andhra inorder to secure separation?

I should, therefore, be excused for stating that the question of provincial redistribution is yet in a mess and we expect our leaders to attach adequate importance and devote serious attention to the problem. A policy of 'drift' will not do. In more senses than one, the vivisection of the country was the outcome of such a policy of 'drift', and if the same policy is continued in regard to provincial boundaries the consequences might be extremely dangerous and detrimental to national solidarity. The national Government, despite other pressing problems, has been successful in solving the tangle of the Indian States very creditably. I earnestly feel that our leaders should try to tackle the problem of provinces with the same insight and wisdom. It

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must be realised that this question is not, in any way, less important than that of states; hence it should be faced boldly and realistically. If the Congress Working Committee, after discussing the whole problem threadbare feels that the principle of linguistic redistribution requires revision, it should issue a comprehensive statement and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. If, however, the leaders are well convinced of the soundness of linguistic provinces, they should try to implement the Congress promise as early as possible. Undue delay in doing a good thing may be unnecessarily fraught with evil consequences. The appointment of a Commission by the President of the Constituent Assembly for this purpose is certainly welcome. But unless the Congress leaders review the whole matter carefully among themselves and give a clear-cut and well-reasoned lead to the country, the Commission might not be able to make much headway. In the absence of a definite policy, there will naturally be a plethora of suggestions before the Commission and the reactionary forces of separatism may, in course of time, gain the upper hand.

Personally I see nothing fundamentally wrong in the principle of linguistic provinces. Such an arrangement would be very convenient in using an Indian language for administrative and judicial purposes; the introduction of mother-tongue as medium of instruction will also be very easy. But it is utterly wrong to talk of separate 'culture' in advocating linguistic provinces because culture, like many other good things of the world, covers a multitude of sins. It is indeed regrettable that, of late, several responsible provincial leaders have mixed much fury and hatred in their agitation for separate linguistic areas; they have talked of satyagraha and even the shedding of blood. If this new myth of 'linguism' is allowed to gain momentum, our future is bound to be full of peril and disaster. But in case the question of linguistic rearrangement is viewed purely as a matter of convenience, no harm need be done to the solidarity and essential cultural unity of our nation.

I have, however, to suggest a middle way. In order to eschew the dangers of narrow 'linguism', we might have linguistic sub-provinces within the existing multi-lingual provinces. For example, in the Central Provinces and Berar, there may be created two sub-provinces of Mahavidarbha and Mahakoshal —— although I do not like these high sounding names —— with separate legislatures and ministries administering specified sub-provincial subjects like Law and Order, Revenue, Education, Health, Excise and Agriculture. But there should also be a small legislature for the whole

province elected indirectly from the two sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies. The Provincial Legislature should legislate only for a few provincial subjects like economic planning, communications and higher technical education; its proceedings should be conducted in the national language. The Ministers of both the sub-provinces should be responsible to the Provincial Assembly. There may be a common High Court and Public Services Commission for the whole province. Similarly, in the Bombay Presidency there can be three sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies for Karnatak, Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay as the seat of the Provincial Government. The Madras Presidency can follow the same pattern. The advantage in having such a provincial organisation would be that while sub-provincial units will be linguistically homogeneous from the standpoint of convenience, the growth of unhealthy and exclusive 'Linguism' would be automatically checked a good deal. Further, it will not be necessary to redraw provincial boundaries in most cases; the existing ones would serve our purpose. This plan of linguistic sub-provinces will also be consistent with the principle of decentralisation of political power. The financial implications of such a scheme need not be prohibitive; the total number of ministers in the sub-provinces should be almost the same as that for the whole province today. If we could have honorary Governors—and this should not be difficult now when there are so many pensioner Maharajas —— the present provincial revenues will be adequate to maintain two or three sub-provinces without additional burden on the tax-payer.

I do not claim that the scheme outlined above is the best method of provincial redistribution under the existing circumstances. Nevertheless, I expect that it would receive due consideration at the hands of all those who are interested in the satisfactory solution of this intricate problem.

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गोविन्दराम सेकसरिया धर्म कॉलिज
पुरुषसिंहमुद्योगमाद्यं

२५.८.१९४८
वर्धा ..... १९ .

क्रमांक १४७६

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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(201)

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...

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Linguistic Provinces Commission.
Chairman
Shri S. K. Dar,
(Retd. High Court Judge)
Members
Dr. Panna Lall, C.S.I., C.I.E.
Shri Jagat Narain Lal, M.C.A.
Secretary
Shri B. C. Banerji, I.A. & A.S.

Council House,

New Delhi, the 25th August, 1948.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE.

The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Communique:-

The Linguistic Provinces Commission have been holding their session from the 22nd August and have interviewed quite a large number of men, both official and non-official, hailing from the areas involved. They will interview tomorrow certain Members of the Constituent Assembly of India belonging to the proposed Provinces.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(29B) -166- 165

A representation from Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar and fifteen other members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal has been received from the office of the Constituent Assembly and is submitted below for perusal.

45

H.P.

Letter to Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar dictated. This representation, a copy of my letter and a similar letter which I have received from Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, MCA., Patna, on this subject may be kept in file in the office.

La. R.P.
29.8.48

Secretary, Constituent Assembly.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~47~~

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Camp Pilani,
29th August 1948.

I have received your letter dated the 25th August 1948 asking me to extend the terms of reference of the Commission which I have appointed to include in their enquiry the question as to what areas in the present province of Bihar should be brought with the province of West Bengal in the reconstitution of the new State of West Bengal on a linguistic basis. As you have pointed out in your letter the Commission has been appointed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee the effective portion of which is that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions with instruction to submit its report to enable the new State whose formation it may recommend to be made under section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be mentioned in the Schedule before the constitution is finally adopted. It will be noticed that the Commission has to make its report to enable a new State whose formation it may recommend to be mentioned in the Schedule. As the existing provinces are already there and their names will be mentioned there is no point in appointing a Commission with regard to them. If there are areas which required to be transferred from one province to another that is a matter entirely separate and distinguishable from a new province which has to be created so that its name may be mentioned in the Schedule. You yourself have noticed that section 290 contains provisions for four things. The recommendation refers only to one item provided by section 290, namely, the creating of a new province. I am, therefore, of the opinion that I shall be exceeding my powers as President of the Constituent Assembly which is concerned only with the drafting of the Constitution if I were to take action which really has to be taken administratively by the Government. If it was not necessary to mention the names of

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(205) 167

the provinces in the Schedule and if we did not have the precedent of Sind and Orissa for the creation of which similar commissions were appointed and if there had not been this recommendation of the Drafting Committee, I think, I would not have felt called upon to appoint a Commission. It is because of these considerations that a Commission has been appointed and I am afraid, it is not possible for me to extend its terms as desired by you.

I note that you intend to raise this question before the Constituent Assembly meeting. That question will be dealt with when it arises.

Yours sincerely,

Sd/-

(Rajendra Prasad)
PRESIDENT.

Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar, MCA.,
New Delhi.

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~~169~~ 208

3 Announcements to be made by H.E. ~~18~~

1) Election of Messrs Guru Kumar Das & V.C. Kesava Rao to the two vacancies on the House Committee. No other nominations were received.

2) Re: Linguistic Provinces. (see file below).

3) That the Assembly is adjourned to a date to be fixed by the President.

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Shri Kala Venkata Rao's letter placed below and H.P.'s remarks thereon.

flag 'H'
× flag 'F'

207

46 #

169

On 26.7.47, the Steering Committee decided that the resolution × on linguistic provinces of which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya had given notice might be taken up by the Assembly after disposing of the Union Constitution Committee's Report. This was brought to the notice of the Steering Committee at its meeting on the 24th August and it was informally agreed that the resolution need not be taken up during the present session. This was presumably because the unfinished portion of the Union Constitution Committee's Report was not likely to come up at this session.

× flag 'Y'

[It may be added for H.P's information that 8 other members had, on 31.7.47, given notice of a motion × on the subject of a separate province for Andhra. These members were asked whether in view of Dr. Pattabhi's motion, which will be coming up during this session, they wished to press their motion. No one, however, replied.]

9/8
29/8/47

V.S.

30-8-47

H.P.

C.43

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~~174~~ (208)

~~170~~

For President
Constituent Assembly

Sir,

You are aware that there are some resolutions regarding linguistic provinces. The House had no time to consider them. As they will have to get into the Bill, kindly announce the procedure through which this can be done.

Thanks

Yours Sincerely
J. Mukerjee Roy
29/8/47

I shall deal with this tomorrow when moving the resolution. Please remind me.
RK
29/8

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

~~1775~~ (209) 171

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's motion is in accordance with the decision of the Joint meeting of the Union & Provincial Constitution committee held on the 18th July.

A date may now, perhaps, be fixed for inclusion in the Orders of the Day

I have indicated some changes in pencil. These are mostly verbal, except the addition of the words "under a Dominion Act" after "appoint a Commission". This addition is in accordance with the minute of the Sub-Committee accepted by the joint meeting on 18-7-47. These words seem to me to be important and should not be left out.

2. The resolution may be put down for Saturday, the 26th: this is on the assumption that the discussion on the Union Constitution Committee's report will be completed by then. We may also put down for the same day the Report of the Union Powers Committee's Report.

3. If approved, draft Orders of the Day on the above lines will be submitted. For 23rd, 24th and 25th the business of the House will be "further consideration of the Report of the Union Constitution Committee's Report".

VS. Secretary would like to be placed right
21/7/47 Secy. this Steering Committee
21-7-47

× vide para (2) of the Minutes – Sd/- K.

× 'A'

× I/c they are sitting on Saturday
21/7

Re pencil additions seem necessary.

YS 21/7

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

New Delhi,
18th July 1947.

To

The Secretary,
Constituent Assembly of India.

Dear Sir,

I beg to give notice that I propose to move the following resolution during the current session of the Constituent Assembly:-

" As soon as the Dominion Status Constitution comes into operation (on the 15th August 1947), the Dominion Government should appoint a Commission to examine the question of creating the proposed new Provinces of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. The Commission should submit its report as early as possible, so that the new Provinces, if any, which it may recommend may be enumerated in the new Constitution and suitable provision made therein on the lines of sections 46 and 289 of the Act of 1935.

There should, in addition, be a provision in the new Constitution on lines of section 290 of the Act of 1935. For this purpose, clause 3 ~~in the Constitutional Adviser's memorandum on the Union~~ Constitution would be generally suitable; but provision should be made for the inclusion of Indian State territory or Centrally Administered Areas."

Yours sincerely,

B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

(B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya)

174 (217)

CONFIDENTIAL. 173

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.

STEERING COMMITTEE

Minutes of the meeting of the Steering Committee held on the 26th July 1947.

.....

Present:

Dr. Rajendra Prasad (Chairman)
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mr. K.M.Munshi
Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha
Mr. C.S.Venkatachar
Mr. Abdul Kadir Mohd. Shaikh
Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy
Mr. Jagat Narain Lal
Shrimati G.Durgabai
Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar
Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.

The notice of amendment to rule 5 given on the 17th of July by Messrs.Deshbandhu Gupta and Mukut Beharilal Bhargava was considered. The Committee accepted the principle of the proposed amendment but considered, as advised by the Constitutional Adviser, that its form requires amendment in view of the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly electoral rules would lapse on the 15th of August. The Committee desired that the drafting should be carefully scrutinised before the amended rule was placed before the Assembly.

2. The Committee took up the notice of motion by Mr.A.P.Pattani regarding a draft constitution for the guidance of States who desired to form groups. The general sense of the meeting was that this was not a matter that the Constituent Assembly could appropriately take up. Mr. Munshi promised to speak to Mr. Pattani and have the notice withdrawn.

3. The Committee agreed that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's resolution may be brought on the Order Paper after the Union Constitution Committee's report is disposed of.

4. The Committee considered the letter from Mr. V.N.Tivari and Thakur Chedilal about the celebrations on the 15th of August. There is some indication that Mahatma Gandhi may not be in Delhi on the 15th of August and it is not clear whether the proposals

contained/....

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

contained in the letter would be acceptable to him. It was therefore decided not to pursue the matter unless Messrs. Tivari and Chedilal are in a position to verify from Mahatma Gandhi that their proposals are acceptable to him.

5. The Committee examined the question referred to in para. 6(1) of the minutes of the meeting held on 22-7-47. The Constitutional Adviser informed the Committee that in the draft adaptations to the Government of India Act, the ban on double membership of the Provincial and Central Legislative Assemblies is proposed to be removed. The Committee decided therefore that no action was necessary till the work of constitution-making had been completed.

6. On the question of States' representatives in the Assembly, the Committee took the view that, whether the States have acceded to the Dominion or not, their representatives should be allowed to take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly when it functions as the Dominion Legislature.

New Delhi,
July 26, 1947.

H.V.R.IENGAR
Secretary.

To
All members of the Steering Committee.

K/-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

SAG/

Sir we give notice of our intention to move the following resolution at the next Session of the C. Assembly, commencing from the 15th Aug'47

175

Resolved that the Province of Assam be Carved out of Naga Pradesh and the same be incorporated and enumerated in a Section of the Constitution (Corresponding to Section 46 of the Govt of India Act) dealing with the Components of the Federation.

N. G. Ranga 31/7/47
by Durgabai
U. Keshava Rao
D. Govindadas
Kishan Chand
T. J. M. Wilson.

P.T.O

179
Received at 11-45 A.M.
31.7.47

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NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

2)

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(214)

(2)

Mr Ramachandra
Hebbar
31/7/67

Saiyadiday

177

To
The Secretary
Government Assembly,
New Delhi

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(3)

S. No 2

178

(215)

DEPARTMENT/OFFICE.

Draft Letter / Memorandum / Telegram

File No. 177

Serial No.

1. Date of despatch

No. CA/67/Cons/47. Dated August, 1947.

2. List of enclosures

Attached

1. Prof. N.G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central)
2. Shrimati G.Durgabai.
3. Shri V.C.Kesava Rao.
4. Shri D.Govinda Doss, M.L.A.
5. The Hon'ble Shri K.Chandramouli, M.L.A.
6. Mr. T.J.M. Wilson, M.L.A.
7. Shri M.Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.L.A. (Central)
8. Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy, M.L.A.

Issue today

Dear Sir/Madam,

With reference to your notice of a motion dated 31-7-47 regarding the creation of the Andhra Province, I write to say that ~~a~~ the accompanying motion on the subject of the creation of Provinces on a linguistic basis by Dr. B.Pattabhi Sitaramayya will be coming up before the Assembly during its forthcoming session. In view of thi I am to enquire whether you still desire to press your motion. If, ~~however,~~ it is your wish to do so, ~~your motion~~ it will be placed before the Steering Committee at its next meeting.

Yours truly,

Secy.

Issue No 1517 (1 to VIII)
12-15 P.M.
5/8/47

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

S. 5 (Large)
MFP—378 S&F—6787—(M-'42)—11-9-45—150,000 Pads.

S. No 1 (7.R.) p/p 1-2 C.

178

216

179

The Signatories of the motion regarding the creation of a Separate Andhra Province desire to move the motion at the next Session of the Assembly.

The motion may be put up before the Steering Committee at its next meeting. In the meantime an acknowledgment as in the draft put up may issue to the members.

SDas
1/8/47.

1/8/47 V.S.
Secy.

Shankaranand
1.8.47

Tell him that Dr Patabhi's
day is coming up next
week & ask him what he
is going to do. If so, we will put
it before the Steering Ctt.

H Jain
2/8

A revised draft is put up for approval

SDas
2/8/47.

2/8/47 V.S.
Secy.

Shankaranand
4.8.47.

H Jain
4/8

S No 2 (Assm) p 3/c

DFA sent to R+S for comm 4/8/47

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

C.-3.

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

No. 153

Received here at ____ H. ____ M.

X ND TRIVANDRUM 8 33 PRESIDENT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY NEW DELHI =

PLEASE REFER MY TELEGRAM DATED SECOND SEPTR 1948 ON VISIT OF LINGUISTIC P
OVINCES COMMISSION TO TRAVANCORE AAA SHALL BE GRATEFUL FOR AN EARLY REPLY =

TRAVANCORE PRIME MINISTER

The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram is—class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (if any) and number of words.

This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram.

MGIFPAhr

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Camp Pilani,
Sept. 18, 1948.

Dear Sir,

I have received a letter signed by you and several other members of the Constituent Assembly asking that the scope of the Commission appointed by me regarding the creation of new provinces should be widened so as to authorise the Commission to enquire into the Orissa demand for inclusion of outlying Oriya areas in the province of Orissa or as an alternative to appoint a separate committee or commission to go into the question. As you have yourself pointed out, the Commission has been appointed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee. It is not concerned with the revision of boundaries of existing provinces but only with the question of creation of new provinces. The boundaries of even these new provinces, if created, will be settled by a separate commission to be appointed later. I am, therefore, sorry that it is not possible to widen the scope of the work of the commission to include the revision of boundaries of the existing provinces. I may add that I had received similar request from some other members and my reply was to the same effect.

As regards the revision of boundaries, it is a matter which can be dealt with by the Government and the Constituent Assembly as such is not concerned with the revision of boundaries. I have, therefore, neither the power nor any justification for the appointment of a new commission for settling boundaries of existing provinces.

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri Bishwanath Das,
New Delhi.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

STATE EXPRESS 219

Shri Munshi

26 Ridge Road

Malabar Hill

Bombay

THANKS TELEGRAM HAVE ALREADY ASKED LINGUISTIC COMMISSION POSTPONE BOMBAY VISIT PRIOR RECEIPT YOUR TELEGRAM

Rajendraprasad

Not to be telegraphed:

Private Secy.
Shashi Sadan,
Pilani.
Octr. 11, 1948

Copy to Secretary, Provincial Linguisic Commission
Constituent Assembly of India for information.

Private Secy

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES
COMMISSION

SRI S. [illegible]AR, CHAIRMAN
DR. PANNA LAL, } MEMBERS
SRI JAGAT NARAIN LAL }
SRI B. C. BANERJI, SECRETARY

C.8

188 (220)

52/182

Council House,
New Delhi,
October 13, 1948.

My dear Rajen Babu

After my wireless telephone talk with you I went to Allahabad for consultation with the Chairman, Mr. Dar, as I knew, he was very loath to postpone our deliberations much longer. At first he was inclined not to give any postponement. A little later, however, when he received a personal telegram from Mr. K.M. Munshi, about his illness, he changed his mind, and I am glad to say that orders have now been issued postponing our dates. Our original intention was to go to Bombay first and then work through Poona, and Hubli to Nagpur. We will now do it the other way - first Nagpur, then Hubli, Poona and Bombay. In this way our work in Bombay will commence about three weeks later than what was originally intended and this should meet the wishes of the Bombay Government and of Mr. Munshi.

Also I am trying to arrange our time-table in Bombay so as to examine ~~all~~ witnesses in whose cross-examination Mr. Munshi may be presumed to be more interested, on as late a date as possible.

We have definitely cancelled our proposed visit to Bangalore.

In view of your impending visit to Jubbulpore, Mr. Shukla also wrote to me asking us to advance our dates a little, to enable him to go to meet you in time at Jubbulpore. Our revised itinerary has been published by the A.P.I. Briefly it is as follows:

Nagpur	23rd to 26th October, 1948
Hubli	27th to 29th " "
Poona	30th to 31st " "
Bombay	1st to 9th November, 1948.

I hope to see you on the 22nd. looking very fit and strong. With kindest regards and best wishes.

Yours Sincerely
Panna Lall

Hon'ble Dr.Rajendra Prasad,
President,
Constituent Assembly of India,
Palani.

AVT/-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

X 47 (227) 184 A 51 183

PILANI TEL. 15 OCT. 48

1.

T (19-00)

Matheson. 14. State Gfull 34

Dr Rajendra Pd. Birla House Pilani

Your kind Telegram many thanks for arranging postponement linguistic Commission it has taken load off my mind am convalising satisfactorily Hope Pilani Change has done you good.

Munshi

Ltr 8/1. Recd at 6.30 pm

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

A. T. Cable. (222) 185 817 NC

INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.

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By	By	

27 NOV 1946 P.T.O.

184

O LF LAKSHMESHVAR 26 115

BABU RAJENDRAPRASAD A I C C PRESIDENT CONSEMBLY ND

KANNADIGAS PRAY SUPPORT PATASKAR RESOLUTION REGARDING FORMATION LINGUISTIC PROVINCES IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY VOLITICAL TROUBLES IN NORTHERN INDIA NOT SUFFICIENT TO POSTPONE VITAL ISSUE INVOLVED IF RESOLUTION NOT ACCEPTED SPLIT IN CONGRESS RANKS UNAVOIDABLE PRAY SAVE KANNADIGUS

-TATTI PRESIDENT MUNICIPALITY LAKSHMESHVAR-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

LINGUISTIC PROVINCES
COMMISSION
SRI S. K. DAR
DR. PANNA LALL
SRI JAGAT NARAIN LAL

~~186~~ 99
223

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
INDIA

185

કૈલાસ: - મનાલી
૩૦-૧૧-૪૮

53

પ્રિય ચક્રવર્તી સાહેબ,

"સાહેબ" વાળો અહેવાલ મેળવી લેવા બદલ આપનો ખૂબ ખૂબ આભાર. મારા ખ્યાલ પ્રમાણે જો તમે ખાસ કરીને ગુજરાતના ભાગલા વિષે કંઈ લખવા ઇચ્છતા હો તો તમારે ગુજરાતી ભાષા બોલતા વિસ્તારોમાં જવું જોઈએ. ત્યાં તમને ઘણા બધા માણસો મળશે, જેમની સાથે તમે વાત કરી શકો

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

225

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha.
20th Dec., 1948.

My dear Dr. Panna Lal,

I was so glad to receive your note and read the report, a copy of which was handed over to me by Sir B.N.Rau when he came to see me here. I need hardly say how thankful I am to you and to your other colleagues for the work which you all have done. I knew it was a thankless work seeing the passions that had been roused. I can only hope that the report will be studied dispassionately.

I have known Babu Jagat Narain Lal for a very long time and if his talents have not been so far utilised to the extent they should be, I cannot be blamed. I hope, however, that he will have larger opportunities in future.

I am still not quite fit as there has been a setback within the last few days. But I am still hoping to be able to attend the Assembly when it reopens.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Panna Lall, C.S.I., C.I.E.,

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

188

Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha.
20th December, 1948.

My dear Shri Dar,

I received copy of the report which was in printed form and ~~which~~ was handed over to me by Sir B.N.Rau and Padmanabhan when they came here to see me 3 or 4 days ago. I was going to write to you how thankful I am to you, to the members of the Commission, Dr. Pannalal & Shri Jagat Narain Lal and Mr. Bannerjee, the Secretary, for the work which you all have done. I knew that it would be a difficult and thankless work when I made the appointment. But I had hopes that the spirit of public service would help me in securing the services of a good team and I feel happy in my choice. You have brought to bear on the questions before you an informed and independent mind and given a report which should be studied dispassionately by all. I shal be obliged if you kindly convey to the Members and the Secretary my appreciation and gratefulness.

As desired, I am writing to the Finance minister about Shri B.C. Banerji.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

I am still not quite fit as there has been a setback within the last few days but I am still hoping to be able to attend the Assembly when it reopens.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Rajendra Prasad)

Shri S.K.Dar,
Chairman, Linguistic Provinces Commission,
Constituent Assembly of India,
37, Canning Road,
Allahabad.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

-191- (228) 56 190

43

The accompanying letter has been received from Sj. S.K. Dar, Chairman of the Linguistic Provinces Commission. I have acknowledged it. I have also written to the Finance Minister about Mr. Banerji as suggested. Copies are enclosed. Will Secretary please note about the suggestion marked 'A' on the margin ?

RP

Secy.C.A.

President.
20/12/48.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(229) 192-

Dear Chattopadhyaya Babu 191

Here is my note for the Finance Committee.

Kindly speak to H.P. if he thinks it proper, the note may be included in tomorrows agenda

If he does not consider the claim proper the matter may be dropped.

Yours sincerely
Panna Lall

16/2/49

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

(230) ~~198~~

not approved
CS. 192

Hon President C.A.

The attached note is self explanatory. It was submitted to the Staff & Finance Ctte in December 48 for payment of the freight* of my car from Allahabad to Delhi for the purposes of the Linguistic Provinces Commission. The claim was however was not sanctioned.

I have now to take the car back to allahabad. On account of my health I am unable to undertake long road journeys. I hope the Finance Committee will be pleased to sanction the freight for the return journey, at least.

Panna Lall
16.2.49

* Railway

x Brought by passenger train

Freight by passenger train is about 290/-
" Goods train is about 142/8

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

194- (231) 193-

The circumstances which made it necessary to bring my motor car are as follows:-

The Hon'ble the President of the C.A. made it clear at our first meeting on 19th July that our report should be prepared urgently, so as to be available, if possible, by the time the C.A. undertook the consideration of the draft constitution. This meant heavy concentrated work, and I have had to attend office daily ever since, and to contact high officials and public men out of office hours, in order to expedite our work. Also, the Chairman and the 2nd member, have regularly attended office examining witnesses and doing other work whenever they have been in Delhi.

It was not possible to borrow cars from friends all the time. The staff car of the C.A. also was not usually available. Sometimes we could not get taxis and Chairman and I had to use Tongas. To engage taxis whole time, for all this period, was a financial impossibility.

So I brought my car, fully believing that its freight would be sanctioned.

It may be added, that the car has been at the service of all the members of the Commission, not only myself and has been regularly taking all three of us to and from our residences, morning and evening, and for lunch, and for other outdoor work.

Panna Lall

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dr B.P.Sitaramayya

12th March 1948
Calcutta

Subject.

Gentlemen, Readjustment of West Bengal boundary, chiefly on linguistic and cultural basis.

We, the undersigned, approach you with the request that you will be pleased to consider the question of amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar with West Bengal. With this end in view we entreat you to kindly give us an opportunity to lay before you all the relevant facts in this connection. In our opinion the matter is extremely urgent and should be settled before the end of the present month by yourselves.

Kindly fix up an appointment at an early date.

Yours Faithfully,

Radhabinod Pal
Judge, International Tribunal, Tokio.

Sreshendra Deb
Maharaja of Cossimbazar.

Atul Ch Gupta
Linguistic Committee, South Calcutta District Congress Committee

Kalidas Nag
Professor

Shankar Rai
The Rt. Hon'ble Lord

Bhabesh Banerji
Socialist Party.

Kedarnath Das
Ex-Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University

Leela Roy

Laxminath Bezbaruah
(Vice President Indian Federation)

Barindra Kumar Ghose
President, Unity Party.

A C Datta
Late Deputy Speaker Central Legislature.

Kumudshankar Bagchi
Secy. Ling. Prov. Committee South Calcutta D.C.C

Upendranath Banerji
Editor, Basumati.

Swami Vedananda
Gl. Secy.
Bharat Sevasram Sangha

Satyendranath Mukherji
Ex-Mayor Cal. Corpn

K K Mathew
Ex. Cofe

Charu Chandra Biswas
Late Judge, High Court.

Chandrasekhar Bhattacharyya
President, Journalists' Association

Nausherwanji
Late Speaker & Minister

Daniel Gomes MLA
Indian Christian Assocn.

Vice President Rotary Club of Calcutta

Moti Lall Roy
Founder President
Prabartak Sangha.

The signatories are representatives of all classes of people of West Bengal and of various Associations therein.

27-B Chittaranjan Ave
Calcutta-13.

S. K. Ganguly President
New Bengal Assocn.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

196 (233) 16-3-49

195

59

LEAGUE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES.

WEST KRISHNA DISTRICT BRANCH

A.L.Narasimha Sarma,
Secretary.
Sall-Office &
Buckinghampet-Post-

Proceedings of Executive Committee.

Re. A Formula for immediate Andhra Province.

An urgent meeting of the Working Committee of the West Krishna District Branch of the League of Linguistic Provinces was held at Mogalrajapuram with Mr. Katragadda Madhavarao, President, in the chair. After taking into consideration the present situation regarding the Andhra separation, the following resolutions were passed as aids to a "peaceful formula" as desired by Sardar Vallabhai Patel.

Andhra Separation.

(1) This meeting requests the High Power Committee to arrange inclusion of Andhra as a separate State in the Schedule I of the new Constitution and to implement the same from 15-8-1949 on grounds of language and culture as well as administrative convenience and homogeneity.

(2) This meeting suggests that the present Congress Boundaries may be accepted tentatively as the provisional boundaries of the new Province, subject to such changes immediately as may be agreed to mutually between the Andhra leaders on the one hand and those of Orissa, Karnataka and Tamilnad on the other, and will be determined finally by a Boundaries Commission to be appointed within ~~a~~ five years after the starting of the new Constitution.

(3) This meeting supports the demand of the Rayalaseema Mahajana Sabha for the creation of a Rayalaseema Development Fund and suggets the same may be met from the 38 crores of the Revenue Reserves available at present. The meeting also supports the demand for weightage in representation in terms of the 'Sree Bagh Pact', as was conceded in the Poona Pact in the 1935 Act, or as per Section 290(2) of the Adaptation Act, 1947.

(4) This meeting welcomes the speech of Sri Ramananda Theertha, President of the Hyderabad State Congress at Madhira and extends its whole-hearted supoort to the proposal for re-uniting the eight districts of Telingana with Andhra Desa.

Krishna - Pennar Project.

The meeting condemned the proposed Krishna-Pennar project in its present form, which is likely to submerge as many as 160 villages in the Rayalaseema districts and 90 of them in Hyderabad, add to the refugee problem, and contribute to enrich the non-Andhra districts largely. The meeting, therefore, requests the Madras Government to give up this effort and use its monies instead towards the more useful projects like Gandikota, Badinagadda, Kanchalamma Gandi etc., repairs to tanks, wells etc., which will be more useful to the Rayalaseema area.

Earlier, the meeting adopted a resolution of condolences on the sudden demise of Srimathi Sarojini Devi, the Governor of U.P.

VIJAYAWADA,
16--3--1949.

(Sd.) A.L.Narasimha Sarma,
SECRETARY.

Copy forwarded to Sri Hon Dr Rajendra Prasad
President Constituent Assembly
New Delhi
A.L.Narasimha Sarma
Secretary

197 (234) 198

MEMORANDUM

ON

Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts

IN

BIHAR AND ORISSA

WITH

WEST BENGAL

Submitted by

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B. Chittaranjan Avenue,

CALCUTTA—13

ORIGINAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

1. Curzon's Partition and its annulment (1905).

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by countrywide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Government of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.

2. Government of India's Assurance to modify the Boundaries (August 1911).

Accordingly, the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August 1911 to the Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces—(1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all."

3. The King-Emperor ratified it (December 1911).

The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December 1911 also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries.

4. Resolution of the Indian National Congress urged the Transfer of Bengali-Speaking tracts from Bihar to Bengal, (December 1911).

Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, a Resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December 1911 urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal. The Resolution was proposed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswar Lal, a leading politician of Bihar. (*Vide* Append ix I.)

5. Bihar Leaders accepted the soundness of the Congress Resolution and desired its implementation, (January 1912).

In January 1912, several Bihari leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. They specified that in Chotanagpur, the whole of Manbhum district and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum were Bengali-speaking, so they should go to Bengal and the rest of the Division whichwas Hindi-speaking should remain in Bihar ; such tracts in Santal Parganas, where the prevailing language was Bengali should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district must remain in Bihar. (*Vide* Appendix I.)

6. The Demand repeated In January 1912.

Sj. Surendra Nath Banerji, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India dated the 25th August 1911 the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

7. The Reply of the Government, April 1912.

In reply to this representation the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration,

8. Bengal Provincial Conference pressed the Demand in April 1912 and repeated it year after year.

On the 7th April 1912, the Bengal Provincial Conference passed a Resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August 1911.

This demand was repeated year after year by the Bengal Provincial Conference,

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their lands from Bengal. Further in 1912 similar representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

9. The Demand pressed in the Memorandum submitted to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford (1917).

In 1917, in the Memorandum that was submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing responsible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the population of which were Bengalees in language, race and tradition. So it was urged that by territorial redistribution such areas should be included in Bengal.

10. Nehru Report recommended formation of Provinces on linguistic basis (1928)

In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation,

11. Simon Commission Report also Recommended readjustment on linguistic basis.

The Report of the Simon Commission expressed the view that "the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" and recommended as a " matter of

urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for". (pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).

12. Pandit Nehru emphasised the same view.

Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

13. The Election Manifesto of the Congress, (1945) supported linguistic and cultural basis for provincial redistribution.

The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words: "The Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis". This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.

14. Convention of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, December 1946.

On the 8th December 1946 a Convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.

15. Self-determination is to be the guiding principle.

But of late there has been bitter attack by some newspapers of Bihar against the reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.

It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any interference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way", as Pandit Nehru says.

16. Radcliffe Award necessitates the solution of the Problem without Delay.

Befoee the Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091. By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from 77,442 sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal hase been disastrously crippled by the Award, and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.

Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have got locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

17. The tracts of the present district of Manbhum never formed a part of Chutianagpur or Bihar but had been always in Bengal from old times.

The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them.

Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (Garh Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and that Panchkote, the most important and largest Raj within Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Jaffar Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas, in consequence of which Burdwan chakla was formed containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. In Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second Part, page 189, it is stated that "rich Zamindaries of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla". In the Report at page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended herewith conclusively proves that Panchkote was in Bengal and was not a part of Chutianagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachete, Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Dayabhaga is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Dayabhaga School of Hindu Law.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805 the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13 of 1833 the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845 Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magisterial administration.

18. Dhalbhum also was never a part of Chutianagpur or Bihar; it was a part of Bengal from ancient times.

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum refused to accept the suzerainty of the British, but subsequently his successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267/- on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII dated 14. 10. 1779 shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833 the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhalbhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till to-day refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.

19. The culture, customs etc. of the general populace of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are totally Bengalee and nothing else.

In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and Kali Pujas are universally performed.

Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they are done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Beharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijes, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The peculiarity of cooking, the mode of putting on dhotis by men and sarees by women, dressing of hair by women, the way of mutual greetings on first meeting, Harinam Sankirtan in all villages, the reading of Krittibas's Ramayan and Kashi Das's Mahabharat, Jatras (theatrical performance without scenes) in Bengali and the presentation of Radha Krishna's Biraha and Milanlilas accompanied by dances—all have upon them the unmistakable Bengali stamp. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.

20. Geographical Position and Physical Features favour the Claims of West Bengal.

A look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pergana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho etc. and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory of mountainous and jungly Chutia Nagpur. Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are on the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Behar proper to the above mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.

The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands intervening between them and Bihar proper ranges between 1,640 to 3,281 feet above sea level (*See* Oxford map).

From the geographical position and physical feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia-Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nagpur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and inclues Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau].

21. Rennell's maps are conclusive evidence of the above.

J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagur and Niagur were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Bahar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhoom. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomchans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Domchanch. Map No. VII further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur; and the initial B of Birboom in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Ramcurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

22. Language of the people of Manbhum supports amalgamation.

	Area in sq. miles.	Total population.	Bengalees,	Santals (All speak Bengalee as subsidiary language)	People speaking Hindi.
Census 1941.	4,147	20,32,146	13,57,284	2,67,619	3,57,075
			67·3%	13%	17·5%
Census 1931.	4,147	18,10,890	12,22.689	2.42,991	3,21,690
			67·5%	13·4%	17·8%

The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 p. c. of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention of the principle of self-determination.

The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows :—

	Total population.	Bengalees.	Santals.	Hindusthani.
Sadar subdivision.	12,89,798	10,46,653	1,68,714	62,269
Dhanbad subdivision.	5,21,092	1,76,036	73,377	2,59,421
	18,10,890	12,22,689	2,42,091	3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government.

The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 34, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindusthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called the floating population. They cannot be regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi-speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district including Dhanbad subdivision should not be transferred to Bengal.

23. Attempt to replace Bengali language by Hindi in Dhanbad, Santal Parganas and Dhalbhum.

It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as soon as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge in Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5109 R S. dated 7. 8. 1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in

Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and ryats, who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle the Additional. Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had to reconsider the matter. After long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J. T. C, 9 dated 8. 6. 1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I. C. S. had to observe in his final Report that there was much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record", and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it". After a lapse of over 20 years since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record ; but even to-day the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.

In Dhalbum, Hindi was prescribed in 1934 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar aetion was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's successor as Addl. Dy. Commr. Dhanbad in 1921) is of interest : "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees".

In 1921 Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed "In 1914 Mr. Luby, S. D. O. of Dhanbad, has started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language. The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South-East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921 at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived. The similar policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to me on the basis of policy adopted in Dhanbad."

In 1937 a planned attempt to replace Bengali by Hindi was renewed. But in spite of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.

Mr. Rajendra Prosad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sammilan expressed his annoyance to the Sammilan for "not propagating Hindi in Singbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas". So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali speaking area in Bihar failed.

24. Language of the people of Dhalbhum supports its amalgamation with West Bengal.

Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to census of 1931

Mother Tongue Bengali	Mother Tongue Hindi	Mother Tongue Oriya	Mother Tongue Santali	Mother Tongue Bhumij	Mother Tongue Ho
Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City (Total population 3,94,595).					
1,41,105	49,624	44,640	97,119	22.828	9,467
Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)					
17,768	36,782	8,791	564	307	2,616

The figures show that entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibe their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total population of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768, Oriyas 8,791 and Hindi speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bhiar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi speakers number more than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi speakers but of Bengali speakers and Oriya speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been alrcady discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

25. Saraikela should also be included in West Bengal.

Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover a portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharsawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the subdivision of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

The population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30%), Oriyas 36,363 (25%), Hindustanis 4,911 (3%), Tribals 58,734 (41%), Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikala the main language is Oriya".

From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, much less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

26. Extract from Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India page 139-140, Vol. V Part 2 fully support the claims of West Bengal.

"On the east of Hazaribagh we drop from the plateau into the Southern portion of the Santhal parganas and North of the District of Manbhum. Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santhal Parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh and of the whole of the District of Manbhum.

Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district; and the same language is spoken in that part

of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Seraikala consists of two portions, an Eastern and a Western. In the eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the western portion of the State of Seraikela the main language is Oriya.

In all these sub-plateau tracts, however, there is a strong element speaking not the main language of the localities but some form of Magahi. We find pure Magahi spoken in the Chakradharpur thana just below the plateau, and also in the States of Seraikela and Kharsawan. So also in Manbhum and again in Kharsawan, we find a corrupt Magahi spoken principally by Kurmis, which, among other names, is known as Kurmali, a form of speech we shall deal with presently. In the same district, pure Magahi is spoken locally by some of the higher castes. In the five sub-plateau parganas of Ranchi, besides the non-Aryan Mundari, there are spoken both Bengali and a dialect of Magahi locally known as Panch Pargania or Tamaria which more nearly approaches the pure form of the language, and which is not so mixed with Bengali as the dialect of the Manbhum Kurmis. To conclude, as will be shortly explained, the same corrupt Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in the South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in a part of the thana of Ramgarh.

It must be noted that in this belt, Magahi is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language. In Manbhum, speakers of Kurmali live side by side with speakers of Bengali, and in Singhbhum and its Native States, side by side with speakers of Oriya, or in the case of Eastern Seraikella, with some speakers of Oriya and other speakers of Bengali."

This state of affairs is illustrated in the map accompanying his observation.

The extracts make the claim of West Bengal for Dhalbhum, for Saraikala and whole of Manbhum irrefutable.

27. The extracts further support the claim of West Bengal for five parganas of Ranchi District, three thanas of Hazaribagh district and the western fringe of Santal Parganas contiguous to Hazaribagh.

Further, the extract "Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santal parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" * * * is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches Hazaribagh lie Mihijam, Jamtara, Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the contiguous eastern areas.

In page 166 of the same volume, Grierson writes "The east and south-east of Ranchi is a meeting place of three overlapping forms of Aryan speach. In the south-east * * the Jain Majhis and the well-to-do cultivating and trading castes speak the Saraki form of Bengali. In the five parganas Tamar, Bundu, Baranda, Rahe and Silli), * * * Bengali-Saraki overlaps". These parganas are contiguous to the Jhalda area of Manbhum; and Grierson's estimate of the number of Bengalee-speakers in Ranchi is no less than 54,860. So there is no reason why this portion of Ranchi District should not be amalgamated with Bengal.

The extract "Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in part of the thana of Ramgarh." It is well known that the people of thanas Gola, Kashmar and part of Ramgarh exclusively speak Bengali. They do not even use Hindi as a subsidiary language. So it is proper that these thanas should also be amalgamated with Bengal.

28. Subdivisions of Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, and Rajmahal in Santal Parganas should also be amalgamated with West Bengal.

Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda of West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above

subdivisions is almost the same as that of the contiguous districts of West Bengal. In the beginning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas was within Bhagalpur and the remainder in Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was its capital. The western natural boundary of West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and the ranges extending southward. From the list of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Permanent Settlement the subdivisions of Rajmahal, Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of Dumka were within Bengal.

In 1912 the district was included in the separated Province of Bihar. In the Census Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Perganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali-speaking people, still Bengali is the current language among the aborigines of the district."

In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage of an artificial imposition.

The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi speakers is four times that of Bengali speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka ; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur, and for which the approximate figures may be stated as : Bengalees—217 thousand, Hindi-speakers—136 thousand. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal : Bengalees 42,937 plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi speakers 1,22,601. Dumka : Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,268, against Hindi-speakers 1,97,434. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Rajmahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali, with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in the court of the Judge at Birbhum. One such is to be found in the Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi. Relevant extracts from this document are reproduced in Appendix III.

29. Necessary strip of land from eastern portion of Purnea should be given to West Bengal.

The spoken language in the eastern portion of Purnea District is called Kishengunjia or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the spoken language of North Bengal districts of Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than 6 lakhs in his time. He observed that this dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishengunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part of Sadar subdivision. The three succeeding censuses record the following figures with respect to the whole district of Purnea :

	1911	1921	1931
Hindi	12,02,568	18,74,971	19,80,123
Bengali	7,49,018	1,02,005	1,47,299

It is remarkable that in the first census after the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province the number of Bengali-speakers decreased by 6 lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision

In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Satgope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Namasudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.

So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.

A new factor has come to work as a sequel to the partition of Bengal and the peculiar position of West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts have been cut off from the rest of West Bengal by the unjustifiable corridor which the Radcliffe Award has provided for the Pakistan province resulting in interruption of communication between the northern and southern sections of West Bengal. Control over the route through Katihar, Barsoi and Kisengunge would in the circumstances be of inestimable benefit to Bengal; and it is to be hoped that Bihar will not grudge this to Bengal.

30. General remarks with respect to the tribal population in the areas dealt with above.

Living side by side with Bengalees in the area under consideration (viz., Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum District, entire District of Manbhum, eastern fringe of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, whole of Jamtara sub-division, 2/3rds of Dumka subdivision, entire Pakur sub-division and ¾ths of Rajmahal subdivision of the Santal Parganas, and such portions of Purnea District as lie to the east of the Mahananda-Kalindri river and of the Katihar-Manihari road) are large numbers of Santals, Bhumijes and other Aboriginal Tribes the great majority of whom speak among themselves in their own tribal languages, but in Bengali with people outside their groups. A fair number out of these (including some 40,000 out of 2,82,000 Santals in Manbhum, about 5,000 Santals in Singhbhum, and all but 3,000 out of over a lakh of Bhumijes in Manbhum) have even given up their tribal language altogether and speak in Bengali exclusively. In respect of Bhumijes, believed to the autocthonous race in Manbhum, it was recorded as long ago as in 1832 by Mr. Dent who had been sent by the East India Company to quell a rising that "they spoke Bengali and were adopting Hindu customs". More than half a century later, Risley (the anthropologist) observed: "Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and speak only Bengali". In respect of aboriginals in the Santal Parganas, the Census Commissioner's observation about Bengali being very much more current than Hindi as a subsidiary language among the aboriginal people of the district has already been quoted in a previous paragraph.

31. Conclusion

It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specified in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein. The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly created provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

S. K. GANGULY,
President,
24-1-48. NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

APPENDIX I.

(*a*) Copy of a Resolution moved in the Indian National Congress Session, 1911 by Dr. (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, seconded by Mr. Parmeswar Lal and passed unanimously.

"That this Congress desires to place on record its sense of profound gratitude to His Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a Lieutenant-Governor in Council and prays that, in readjusting the provincial boundaries, the Government will be pleased to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration."

(*b*) Copy of Statement published in January 1912 by a number of prominent leaders of Bihar.

"In accordance with the Resolution of the last Congress the sound principle would be that enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. According to this arrangement, the portions of Purnea and Malda to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistic boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to Bengal and the western portions of these two districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole district of Manbhum and Parganah Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division which is Hindi-speaking remainining in Bihar.'

———

their predecessors. Freedom will be a meaningless abstraction if it does not bring in its wake a more just and generous national policy, if it does not offer unrestricted scope for self-determination, if it does does not work for the creation of homegeneous provinces which, while economically self-sufficient and developing along their own lines, will grow strong and thereby add to the strength of the Indian Union of which they are component parts. Unfortunately the present tendency seems to be towards an accentuation of narrowness and rigidity of outlook.

Congress has unequivocally accepted the principle of the self-determination of provinces on a linguistic basis and has embodied it in its election manifesto of 1945. The present reluctance therefore to put into eflect its solemn declaration of policy is to say the least of it, curiously inexplicable and belies the noble tradition for which Congress stands. There is a hush-hush policy about the practical implementation of the principle which is sure to cause suspicion and resentment. The only explanation vouchsafed so far is that the time is not ripe for such action, as it would inflame provincial hostility and add to the tension of an already overcharged atmosphere. Let us analyse at some length this alleged excuse of inopportuneness. It implies an admission that Congress has no strength to enforce a just and equitable readjustment of boundaries between two sister provinces which are part of the same Union.

This surely underestimates the great hold that the Congress exercises over the mass mind in every province. If Pandit Jawaharlal uses a a tenth part of the persuasive power he displayed in quelling the communal disturbances in Bihar provoked by the Noakhali atrocities in Bengal, if Mahatmaji just waves the tip of the magical wand by which he restored communal harmony out of the seething turmoil in Calcutta, I am sure Bihar which is famous for her loyalty to Congress principles will gladly relinquish her hold on areas to which she has no legitimate claim. Sj. Rajendraprosad, the President of the Indian National Congress, who is a devoted follower of Mahatmaji and whose main task is to espouse Congress ideals and translate them into reality, would have been better employed in persuading his province to give up what does not belong to her instead of urging her to prop up a a weak and tottering pretension by an artificial effort to diffuse Hindi in a predominantly Bengali-speaking area. It was not by these means that Congress became the great organisation that it is to-day and it is not by these tactics that Congress may expect to retain its hold on the future ages.

It is surpassingly strange that while readjustments of boundaries have either been sanctioned or confidently expected in respect of other provinces, a grim mysterious silence is allowed to hang over the claims of Bengal. Seraikela and Kharswan have been provisionally taken away from Bihar and merged in Orissa. That at any rate shows that the times are not inopportune for such a transfer. Bihar's frantic protests have been respected in the promised appointment of a tribunal to adjudicate between the rival claims of the two provinces. But strangely enough, the possibility that Bengal also might have a say in the matter has been completely overlooked. Bihar, in her claims on Seraikela, has displayed the true neighbourly spirit in seeking the collabortion of Bengal in resisting the counter-claims of Orissa. The neighbourly spirit was perhaps evoked by the fact that Bengal's contribution to the total figure was 30 p. c. while that of Bihar was only 3. We, however, welcome this collaboration of forces and hope that the partnership will be carried as long as the requirements of justice dictate, and that the principles invoked in establishing Bihar's claim on these states will also be applied in determining the claims of Bengal on areas now incorporated in Bihar. The announcement in the papers that Andhra will be carved out of Madras and constituted into a separate province from April 1948 further weakens the plea of inopportunness put forward in shelving the consideration of the case of Bengal.

The justice of the claim put forward on behalf of Bengal does not admit of a moment's doubt. The main question on which the conference should concentrate is the devising of means to enforce this eminently just and reasonable demand. Mass opinion both in Bengal and Bihar must be fully mobilised for the attainment of the object. It has been reported that in some of the areas in Behar, coercion and intimidation are being resorted to, to prevent free expression of opinion on the part of the Bengalee residents.

This campaign of terrorisation must cease and we must be prepared to refer our case to impartial adjudication and accept the verdict however unpalatable it may be to either of the contesting parties. We have acquiesced in the perverse and iniquitous Radcliffe Award ; surely an award by our own Government which is bound to be more just and fair should find us in a more complaisant mood. It is a great pity that the task of organising opinion in support of the movement has fallen on a comparatively young organisation like New Bengal Associatian, It would have been more in the fitness of things that the Bengal Congress, which both officially rules the province and unofficially moulds public opinion should have come forward to assume the leadership. But strangely enough the response of the Congress as a body and of individual congress leaders has been halting and half-h earted. This shyness and reticence, bred perhaps out of a feeling of uncertainty about the attitude of the Congress High Command, do not seem to have had much effect upon the provincial Congress leaders in Bihar and Orissa. They have jumped into the fray to safe-guard the vital interest of their respective provinces and have not set much store by the interpretation of their activities by the Centre. This, I venture to submit, is an eminently correct attitude. Provincial leadership should not be entrusted to people who have not the courage to advance the interest of their own province and who passively wait for a lead from the higher authorities. Leaders in the province should sometimes aspire to lead, instead of being always led, let us hope not invariably by the nose. They should correctly apprise the Central Government of strong, explosive feelings prevalent in the provinces and urge them to appropriate action before an explosion is precipitated. It is a very sad thing to say that with the exception of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, and the President of the Hindu Mahasava, no front-rank politician has come forward to champion the cause of Bengal, a cause which constitutes a vital condition of her very survival as a provincial unit. Let us hope that this tarrying behind argues no indecision or weakness of nerves, but a waiting for the rallying of forces and the advent of the auspicious moment. We expect that the Congress will behave as she had done in respect of the partition of Bengal, that she will come last but when she comes she will bring overwhelming force along with her. It is in this hope that we take it upon ourselves to launch the campaign for building a better, a richer and more homegeneous province of Bengal. I am quite sure that worthier people will step along the trail we have blazed and assume final responsibility for conducting the campaign to a successful issue. In the meantime we would earnestly appeal to every son and daughter of Bengal and of Bengal beyond her present boundaries who are convinced of the justice of our cause, to swell our rank and to effectively organise public opinion, until it acquires the momentum of an irresisdtile avalanche that will sweep away all obstruction from its path of progress and inevitable triumph.

JAI HIND.

RESOLUTIONS

(Passed on 25th January, 1948, at a Conference at Ashutosh College Hall, Calcutta. on the amalgamation of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal Province).

1. This Conference of the representative organisations of Bengal and of the representatives of Bengalee Associations and delegates from the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, resolve that for cultural and linguistic consideration as well as in fulfilment of the pledge contained in the Congress Election manifesto of the 11th December, 1945, the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar and Orissa viz, the, District of Manbhum, and the sub-divisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal and that portion of Purnea which is to the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and Katihar-Manihari Road and the state of Seraikela, and other similar areas should be forthwith amalgamated with West Bengal Province.

2. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly to appoint a Delimitation Commission for giving effect to the foregoing resolution as early as possible.

3. This Conference urges on the Cabinet of West Bengal Government the immediate necessity of taking appropriate action to secure at an early date the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts as mentioned in resolution No. 1 with West Bengal Province on cultural and linguistic basis.

4. This Conference authorises New Bengal Association to take all necessary action to secure the reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas now in Bihar and Orissa with West Bengal Province, in collaboration with the Bengalee-Association of Bihar and other interested bodies of Bihar and Orissa and the principal social and political organisations of the West Bengal Province.

5. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly that none of the rights and privileges at present enjoyed by the tribal people in the Bengali-speaking areas under special Regulations may be in any way touched after their amalgamation with West Bengal Province.

BLACK-LISTING OF HOMESICK BENGALEES IN BIHAR.

(Copy of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a fascimile of which was published in the press on 29th January 1948.)

Confidential.—

Office of the D. I. G., S. P., Ranchi.
The 23rd October, 1947.

Memo. No. A/XXV-i-47.

To

The S. P., Dhanbad.

Ref.—Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.

Sub.—Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in west Bengal.

You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo. under reference and if they are found agitating or activaly supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately.

It is necessary to keep running record of each individual for suitable action in future, if necessary.

Sd. R. R. PRASAD,
D. I. G., S. R.

[This supports the "Compaign of terrorisation" referred to in P. 17, in the presidential speech.]

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MEMORANDUM

ON

Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts

IN

BIHAR AND ORISSA

WITH

WEST BENGAL

S. K. GANGULY, President,

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

27-B CHITTARANJAN AVENUE

CALCUTTA—13

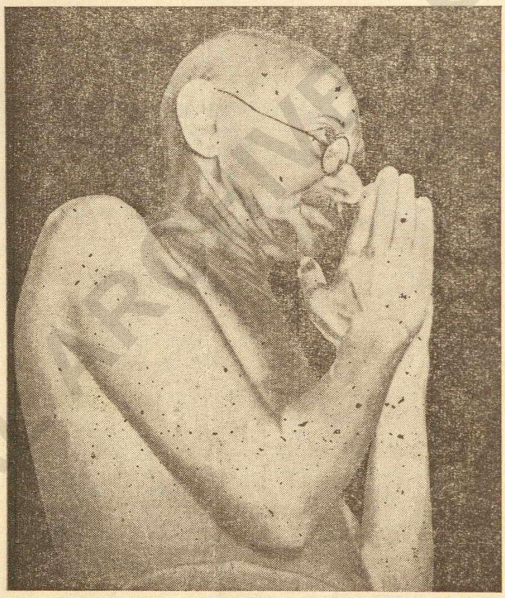
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

DIVISION OF PROVINCES ON LINGUISTIC BASIS

GANDHIJI'S VIEW

NEW DELHI, JAN. 25.—Mahatma Gandhi in course of his prayer speech on Sunday evening dwelt on the reconsititution of provinces on lingusitic basis and said that the Congress had already adopted that principle and declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally. But such redistribution, Gandhiji warned, should not militate against the organic unity of India.

Continuing Gandhiji referred to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of reconsititution of provinces on linguistic basis. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in today's meeting.



The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of country.

But such re-distribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that thereafter provinces could go the way they chose independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to look upon it self as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as aonceived by the Congress was based on village cutonomy. But all the villages were to derive vitality from the centre as the latter in its turn derived all powers and authority from the former. It would be fatal if it led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings and rivalrism between Tamil and Andhra, for instance, Bombay and Karnatak and so on.

IMPETUS TO CULTURE

The redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, Mahatma Gandhi said was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the lingua franca—Rashtra Bhasha of India but it would not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realise their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians, etc. but only as Indians.

We must therefore resolutely discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces would give an impetus to education and trade. He hoped that they would not need a boundary commission to delimit the frontiers on the new basis. That was the foreign way which they had discarded. The best thing would be for themselves to determine the boundaries by mutual agreement and consent and place the same before their Prime Minister for his final sanction. That would be true independence.

To go to a third party in the shape of a boundary commission for a settlement would be a negation of independence. They must evolve inter-dependence and mutual help.—A.P.I.

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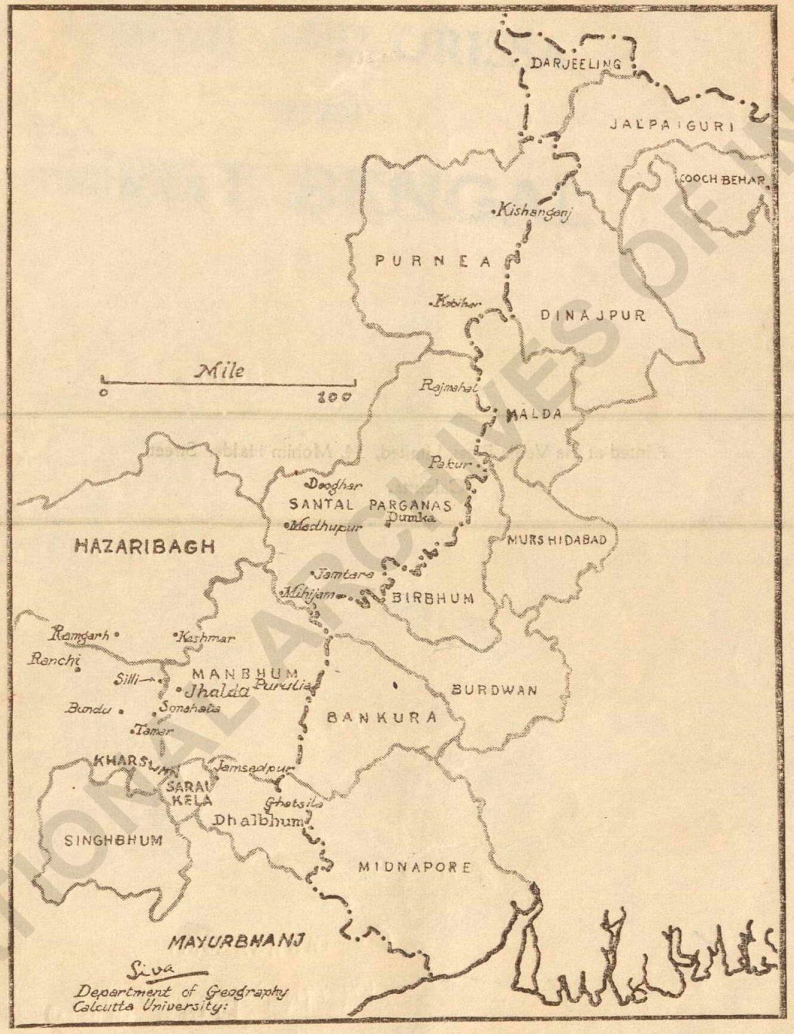
Bengali-Speaking areas in Six Districts of Bihar claimed by WEST BENGAL.



Present boundary between Bengal and Bihar is shown by thick dotted line up to Purnea in the North.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

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PAMPHLET No. 2.

PRESIDENT CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
No. 7 MAY 1948
No. PSA

KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Published by

KOSHAL SANGHA, BALANGIR.

1947.

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KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES

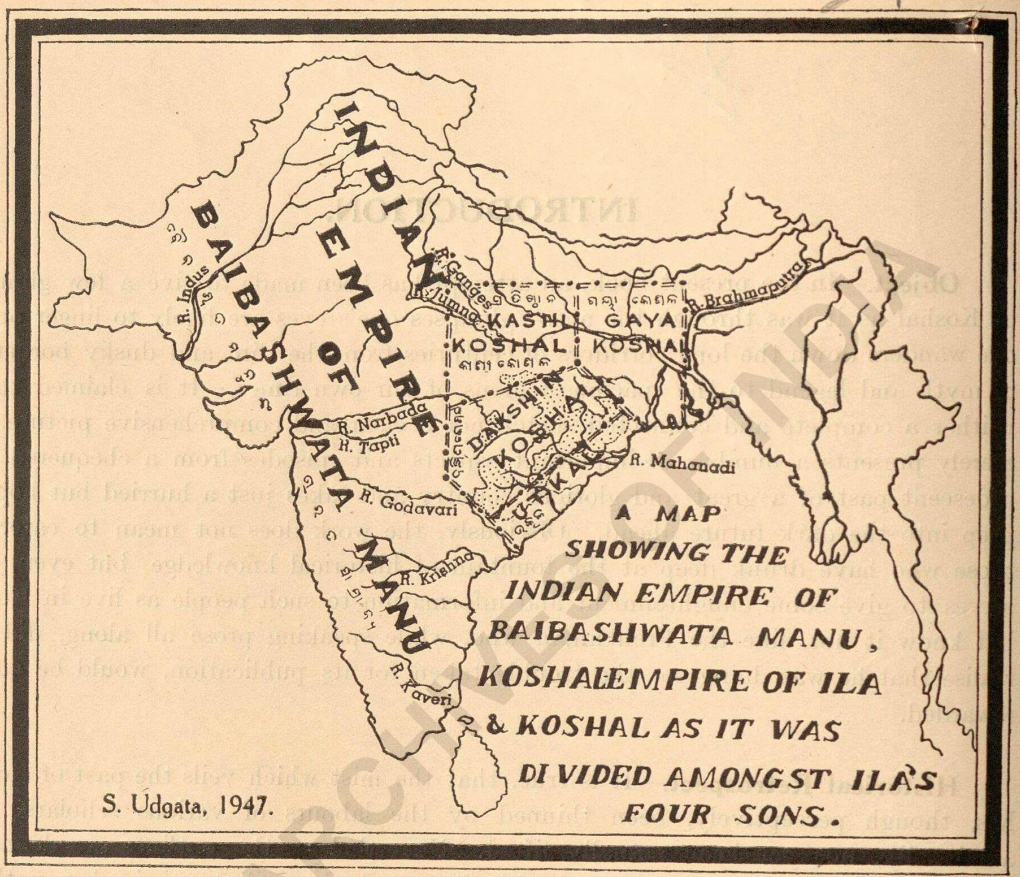
NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

INTRODUCTION.

Object.—In the present book, an attempt has been made to give a few glimpses of Koshal as it was through the ages—glimpses one's eyes are likely to linger on, as one wanders down the long corridors of centuries from the dim and dusky borderline of myth and legend to the spacious regions of our own times. It is claimed to be neither a complete and connected sketch nor a clear and comprehensive picture. It merely presents a number of important aspects and episodes from a chequered and iridescent past of a great and glorious country and takes just a hurried but hopeful peep into the dark future ahead. Obviously, the work does not mean to cater for those who have drunk deep at the fountain of historical knowledge but even, if it serves to give some enlightenment and information to such people as live in Koshal but know it not, like the Frenchman who, while speaking prose all along, did not realise that he was doing so, the trouble taken for its publication, would be amply rewarded.

Historical Retrospect.—It is true, that the mist which veils the past of Koshal has, though perceptively, been thinned by the labours of various scholars, has, admittedly, not yet been actually lifted. Nevertheless, the outlines are definitely demarcated, the contours are perfectly clear and the milestones in her path of progress already well marked. It would appear that "the ancient Koshal kingdom of Pauranic fame was divided in two great divisions, the river Sarayu, serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Utter Koshal and the one to the south was called Dakhin Koshal" (*Geography of Early Buddhism* by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., PH.D., p. 6). With regard to the latter and we are concerned with it only—

Dr. Law continues, "A colonial projection of the Koshala Mahajanapada of the Madhyadesa was also situated in the Dakhina Janapada. Dakhina Koshal is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, during whose reign it was ruled over by king Mahendra, who was defeated by the Gupta monarch. The country is also mentioned in the itinerary of Yuan Chawang who locates Koshal in the southern division. South Koshal comprised the whole of the Upper Valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narmada on the north to the source of the Mahanadi itself on the south and from the valley of the Wenganga in the west to the Hasda and Jonk rivers in the east (*CAGI.*, p. 735). According to Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri it comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts



INDIA
|
KOSHAL
|
KASHI-KOSHAL | GAYA-KOSHAL | UTKAL | DAKSHIN-KOSHAL

BAIBASHWATA MANU
(Emperor of India.)
|
ILA
(King of Koshal.)
|
PURURAVA, King of Kashi-Koshal. | GAYA, King of Gaya-Koshal. | UTKAL, King of Utkal. | BINITASHWA, King of Dakshin-Koshal.

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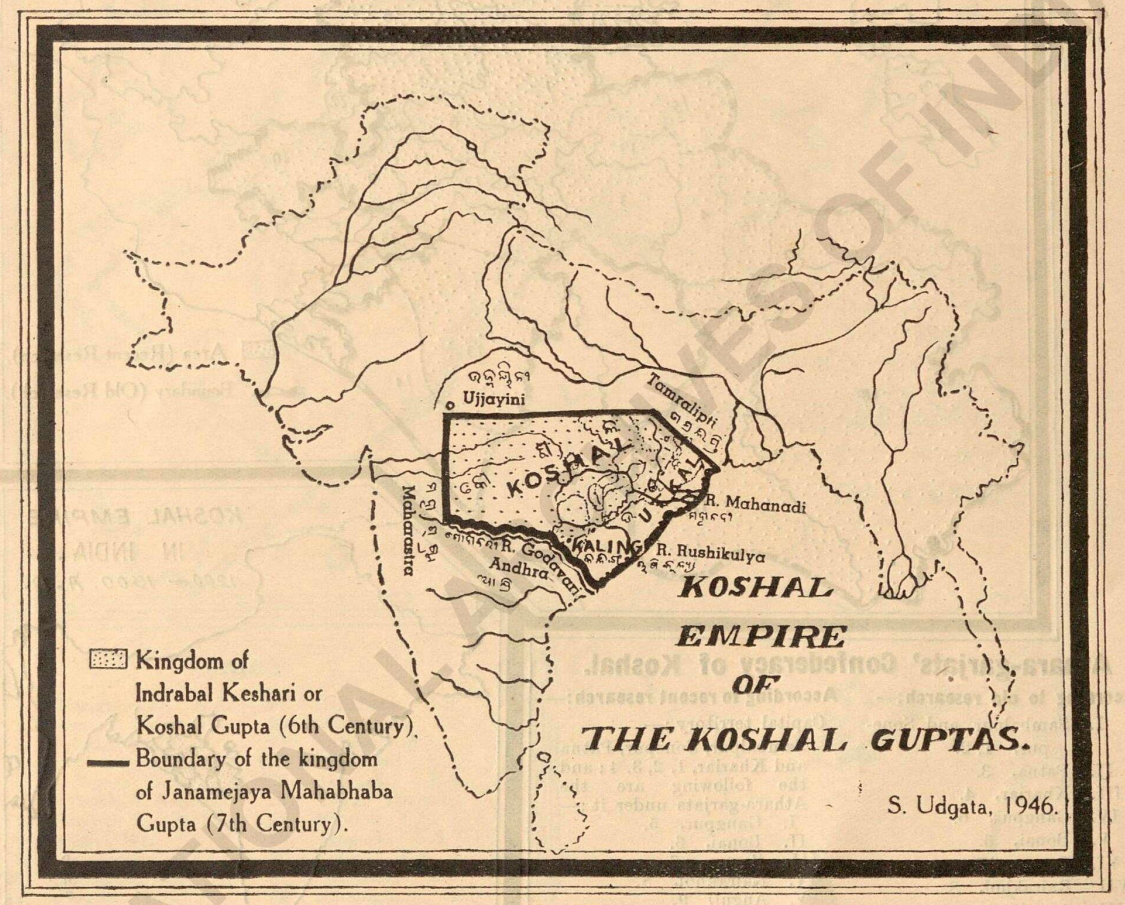
KOSHAL IN THE 6th & 7th CENTURIES A.D.



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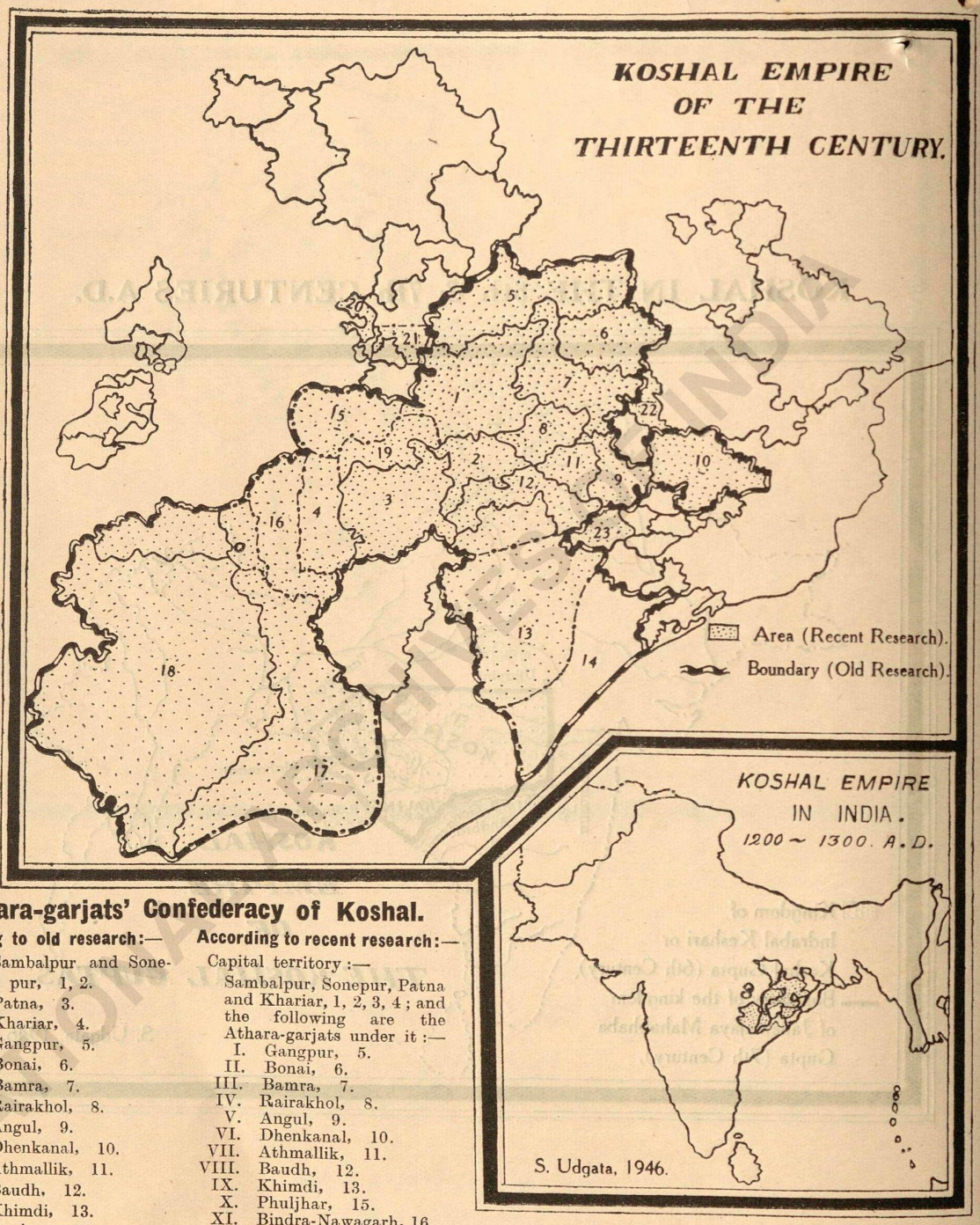


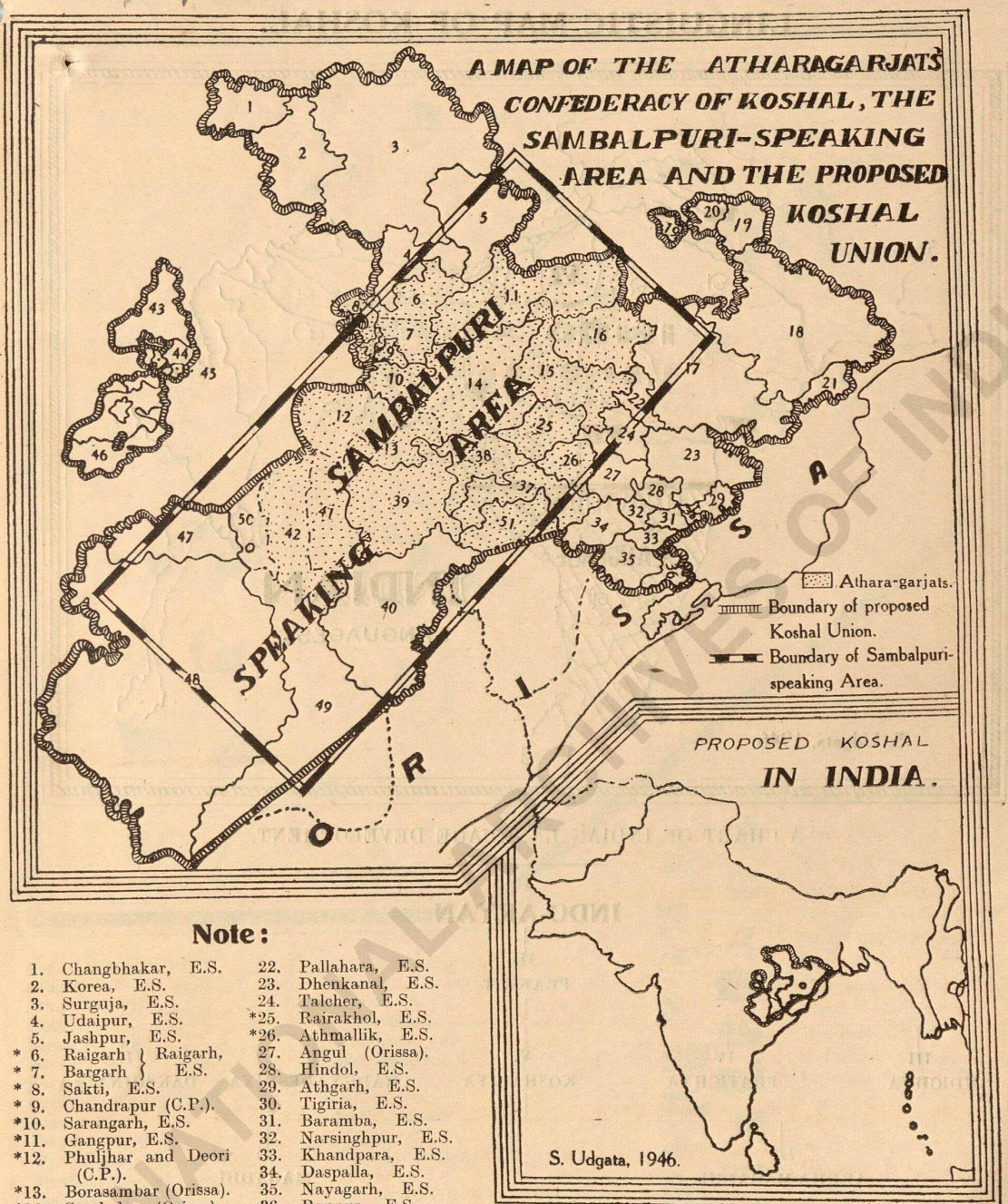
Athara-garjats' Confederacy of Koshal.

According to old research:—

I. Sambalpur and Sonepur, 1, 2.
II. Patna, 3.
III. Khariar, 4.
IV. Gangpur, 5.
V. Bonai, 6.
VI. Bamra, 7.
VII. Rairakhol, 8.
VIII. Angul, 9.
IX. Dhenkanal, 10.
X. Athmallik, 11.
XI. Baudh, 12.
XII. Khimdi, 13.
XIII. Ganjam, 14.
XIV. Phuljhar, 15.
XV. Bindra-Nawagarh, 16.
XVI. Nandpur (Jayapur), 17.
XVII. Bastar, 18.
XVIII. Borasambar, 19.

According to recent research:—

Capital territory :—
Sambalpur, Sonepur, Patna and Khariar, 1, 2, 3, 4; and the following are the Athara-garjats under it :—
I. Gangpur, 5.
II. Bonai, 6.
III. Bamra, 7.
IV. Rairakhol, 8.
V. Angul, 9.
VI. Dhenkanal, 10.
VII. Athmallik, 11.
VIII. Baudh, 12.
IX. Khimdi, 13.
X. Phuljhar, 15.
XI. Bindra-Nawagarh, 16.
XII. Nandpur (Jayapur), 17.
XIII. Bastar, 18.
XIV. Borasambar, 19.
XV. Sakti, 20.
XVI. Bargarh, 21.
XVII. Pallahara, 22.
XVIII. Daspalla, 23.

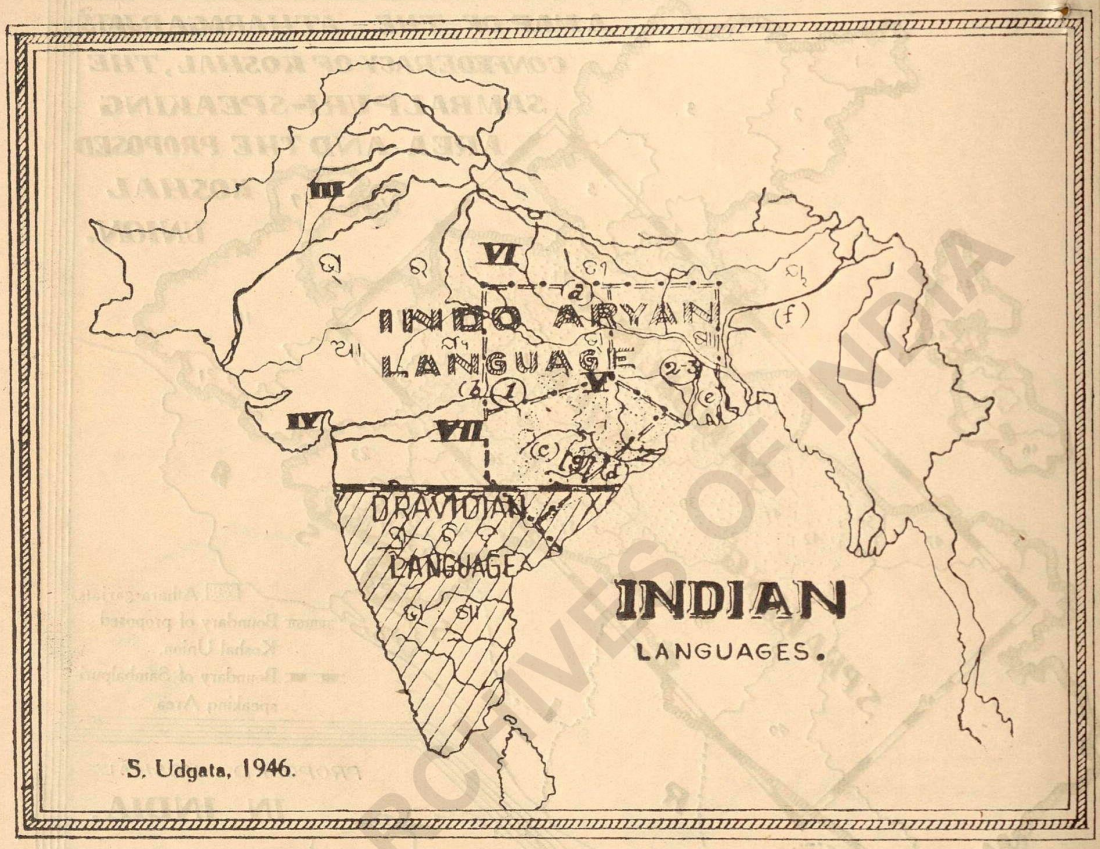

A MAP OF THE ATHARAGARJATS CONFEDERACY OF KOSHAL, THE SAMBALPURI-SPEAKING AREA AND THE PROPOSED KOSHAL UNION.
SAMBALPURI SPEAKING AREA
ORISSA
Athara-garjats.
Boundary of proposed Koshal Union.
Boundary of Sambalpuri-speaking Area.
PROPOSED KOSHAL IN INDIA.
S. Udgata, 1946.

Note:

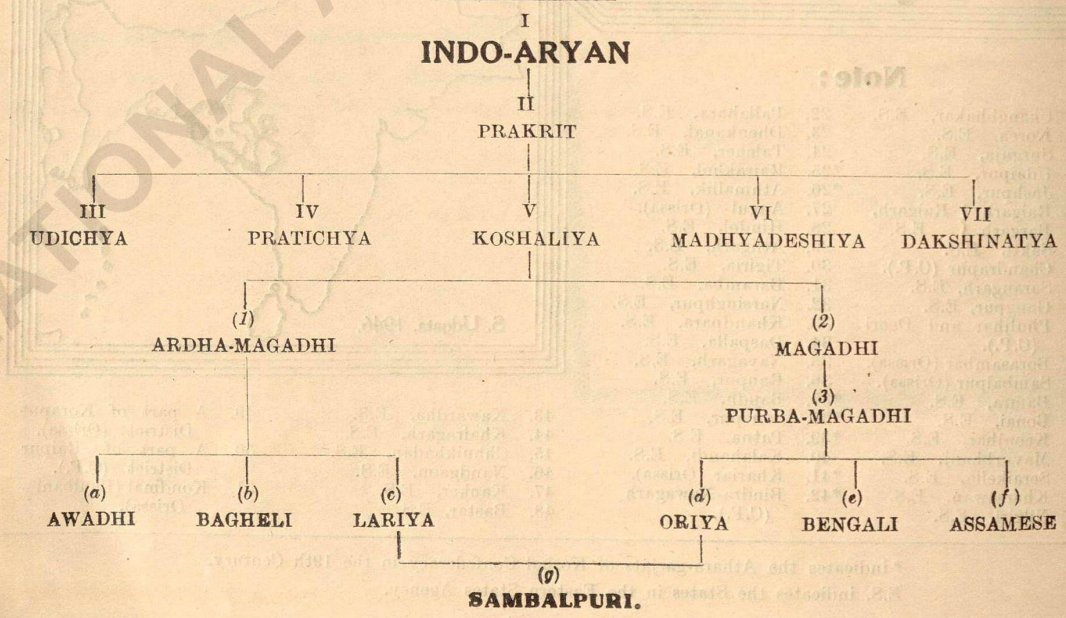
1. Changbhakar, E.S.
2. Korea, E.S.
3. Surguja, E.S.
4. Udaipur, E.S.
5. Jashpur, E.S.
* 6. Raigarh } Raigarh,
* 7. Bargarh } E.S.
* 8. Sakti, E.S.
* 9. Chandrapur (C.P.).
*10. Sarangarh, E.S.
*11. Gangpur, E.S.
*12. Phuljhar and Deori (C.P.).
*13. Borasambar (Orissa).
*14. Sambalpur (Orissa).
*15. Bamra, E.S.
*16. Bonai, E.S.
17. Keonjhar, E.S.
18. Mayurbhanj, E.S.
19. Seraikella, E.S.
20. Kharsawan, E.S.
21. Nilgiri, E.S.
22. Pallahara, E.S.
23. Dhenkanal, E.S.
24. Talcher, E.S.
*25. Rairakhol, E.S.
*26. Athmallik, E.S.
27. Angul (Orissa).
28. Hindol, E.S.
29. Athgarh, E.S.
30. Tigiria, E.S.
31. Baramba, E.S.
32. Narsinghpur, E.S.
33. Khandpara, E.S.
34. Daspalla, E.S.
35. Nayagarh, E.S.
36. Ranpur, E.S.
*37. Baudh, E.S.
*38. Sonepur, E.S.
*39. Patna, E.S.
40. Kalahandi, E.S.
*41. Khariar (Orissa).
*42. Bindra-Nawagarh (C.P.).
43. Kawardha, E.S.
44. Khairagarh, E.S.
45. Chhuikhadan, E.S.
46. Nandgaon, E.S.
47. Kanker, E.S.
48. Bastar, E.S.
49. A part of Koraput District (Orissa).
50. A part of Raipur District (C.P.).
51. Kondmal (Phulbani—Orissa).

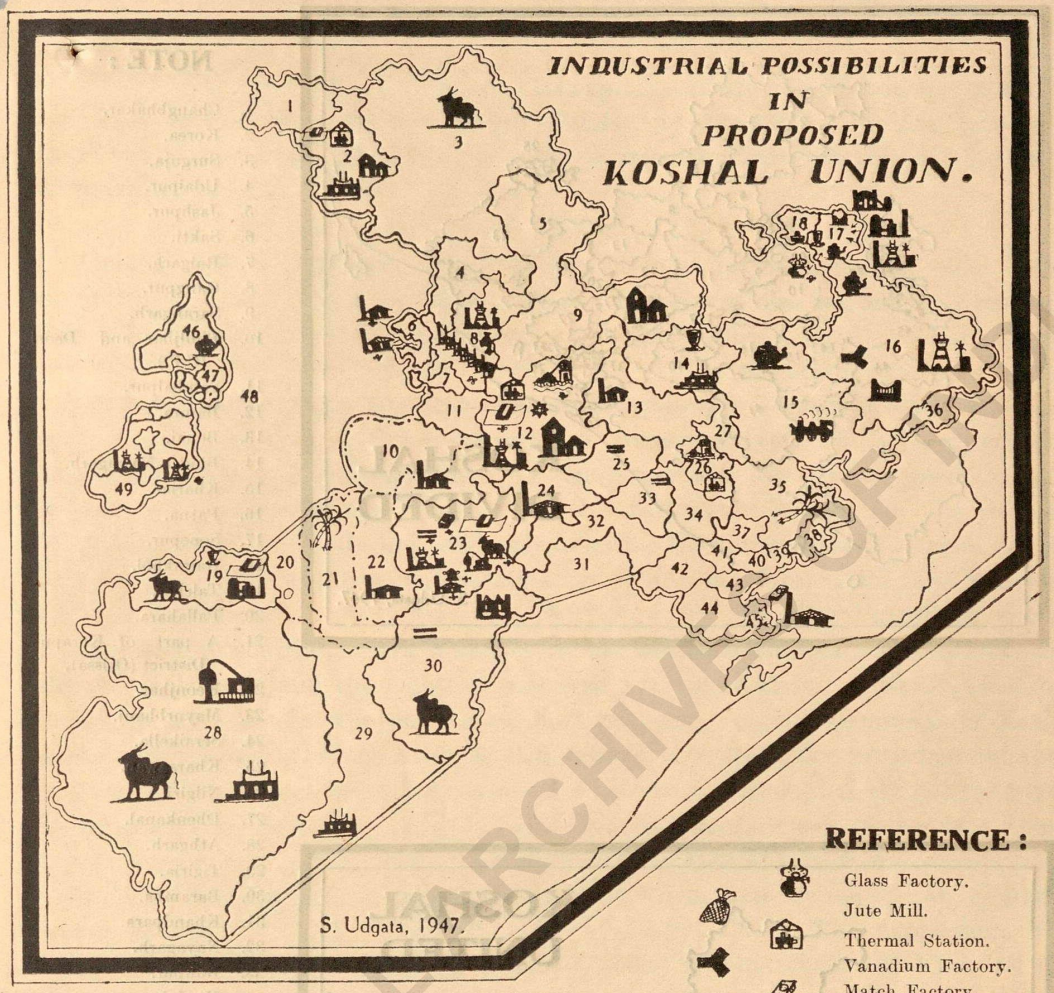
* indicates the Athara-garjats of Koshal Confederacy in the 19th Century.
E.S. indicates the States in the Eastern States Agency.

LINGUISTIC MAP OF KOSHAL.



A CHART OF INDIAN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.

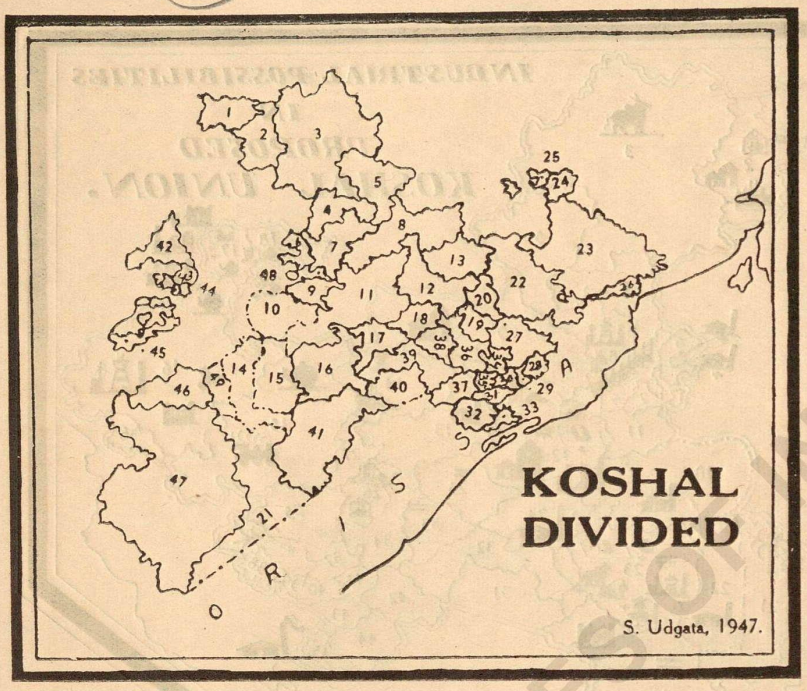


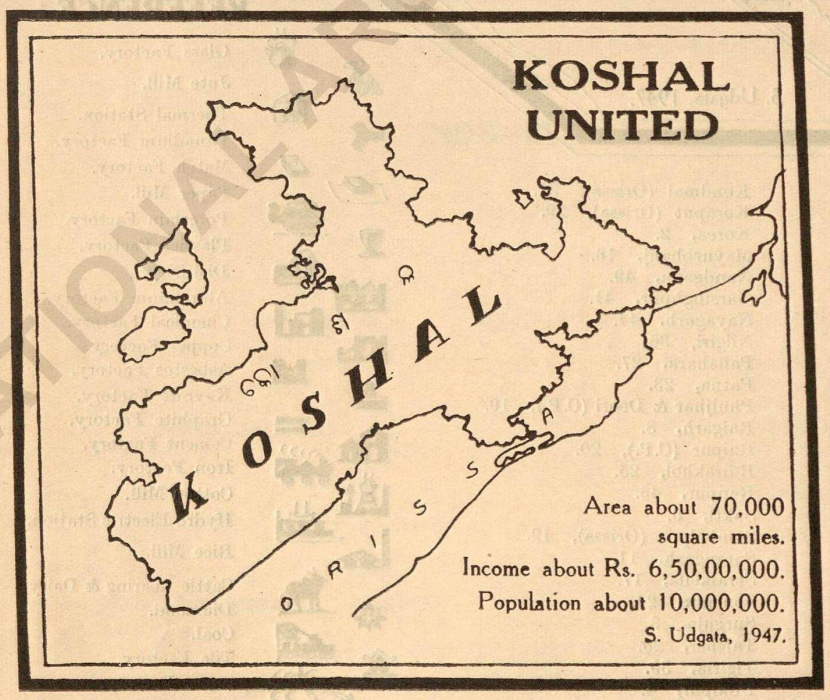


Angul (Orissa), 34.
Athgarh, 38.
Athmallik, 33.
Bamra, 13.
Baramba, 40.
Bastar, 28.
Baudh, 32.
Bindra-Nawagarh (C.P.), 21.
Bonai, 14.
Chandarpur (C.P.), 7.
Changbhakar, 1.
Chhuikhadan, 48.
Daspalla, 42.
Dhenkanal, 35.
Gangpur, 9.
Hindol, 37.
Jashpur, 5.
Kalahandi, 30.
Kanker, 19.
Kawardha, 46.
Keonjhar, 15.
Khairagarh, 47.
Khandpara, 43.
Kharsawan, 18.
Khariar (Orissa), 22.
Kondmal (Orissa), 31.
Koraput (Orissa), 29.
Korea, 2.
Mayurbhanj, 16.
Nandgaon, 49.
Narsinghpur, 41.
Nayagarh, 44.
Nilgiri, 36.
Pallahara, 27.
Patna, 23.
Phuljhar & Deori (C.P.), 10.
Raigarh, 8.
Raipur (C.P.), 20.
Rairakhol, 25.
Ranpur, 45.
Sakti, 6.
Sambalpur (Orissa), 12.
Sarangarh, 11.
Seraikella, 17.
Sonepur, 24.
Surguja, 3.
Talcher, 26.
Tigiria, 39.
Udaipur, 4.

REFERENCE :

Glass Factory.
Jute Mill.
Thermal Station.
Vanadium Factory.
Match Factory.
Paper Mill.
Porcelain Factory.
Plastics Factory.
Distillery.
Aluminium Factory.
Chemical Factory.
Copper Factory.
Asbestos Factory.
Kaynite Factory.
Graphite Factory.
Cement Factory.
Iron Factory.
Cotton Mill.
Hydro Electric Station.
Rice Mill.
Cattle Rearing & Dairy.
Diamond.
Coal.
Tile Factory.
Sugar Factory.
Indicates existing ones.





NOTE :

1. Changbhakar.
2. Korea.
3. Surguja.
4. Udaipur.
5. Jashpur.
6. Sakti.
7. Raigarh.
8. Gangpur.
9. Sarangarh.
10. Phuljhar and Deori (C.P.).
11. Sambalpur.
12. Bamra.
13. Bonai.
14. Bindra-Nawagarh.
15. Khariar.
16. Patna.
17. Sonepur.
18. Rairakhol.
19. Talcher.
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22. Keonjhar.
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24. Seraikella.
25. Kharsawan.
26. Nilgiri.
27. Dhenkanal.
28. Athgarh.
29. Tigiria.
30. Baramba.
31. Khandpara.
32. Nayagarh.
33. Ranpur.
34. Hindol.
35. Narasinghpur.
36. Angul (Orissa).
37. Daspalla.
38. Athmallik.
39. Baudh.
40. Kondmal (Phulbani—Orissa).
41. Kalahandi.
42. Kawardha.
43. Khairagarh.
44. Chhuikhadan.
45. Nandgaon.
46. Kanker.
47. Bastar.
48. Chandarpur (C.P.).
49. A part of Raipur District (C.P.).

and occasionally even a part of Ganjam. Its capital was Sripura, the modern Sripur, about 40 miles east by north from Raipur (*PHAI.*, pp. 337-338)." He also mentions that " in Puranic literature Tosala is always associated with Dakhin Koshal and distinguished from Kalinga."

Origin of Confederation.—In this connection it is interesting to note that the conception of the 18 or 36 Gadjats Confederation was also introduced from the original Koshal into its colonial extension, *i.e.*, Dakhin Koshal. Mr. B. M. Barua says (*vide Indian Culture*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 809) : " The enigmatic expression *nava Malla-i nava Laccha-i Kasi-Kosalaga atharasa vi ganarayano* occurs in two places of the Jaina Agama, first, in the Kalpasutra, in connection with Mahavira's demise ; and secondly, in the Nirayavali Sutra, in connection with the war between Cedaga (Cetaka), the applauded king of Vesali, and Kuniya (Kunika-Ajatasatru), the usurper king of Magadha." Prof. Jacobi, evidently following the authority of the commentary, translates it : " The eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis." * * * * * * Dr. Ray Chaudhuri takes the expression in the Kalpasutra to refer " to nine Mallakis as having formed a league with nine Licchavis and the eighteen *ganarajas* of Kasi-Kosala " (*Political History*, 3rd Ed., p. 90). As for the possibility of there being " eighteen *ganarajas* of Kasi-Kosala," Dr. Ray Chaudhuri cites a Pali reference locating the settlement of the Kalamas in Kosala, and two references, each of which indicates that the Sakyas were Khattiyas acknowledging some sort of suzerainty of king Pasenadi of Kosala. Thus the presumption raised is that there were eighteen *ganarajas* of Kasi-Kosala in addition to the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, all of whom were united by an alliance between them. * * * * * * * * * The expression, as explained in the Kalpadrumaka Likavyakhya, refers to nine chiefs of Kasi, all of Mallaki origin, and nine chiefs of Kosala, all of Lecchaki origin, making up together eighteen *ganârajas*, all samantas or vassal chiefs under the supremacy of Cetaka, maternal uncle of Mahavira. * * * * * * * * As I interpret it, the expression signifies " the nine Mallas and the nine Licchavis, on the whole, eighteen *ganarajas* (ruling clans) who were Kasi-Kosalaga in the sense that they derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties of Kasi and Kosala." Thus the two interpretations, the first suggested by the Jaina commentator and the second by me, agree as to the number eighteen prefixed to *ganarajas* representing a total made up of nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis but differ as to the meaning of the phrase Kasi-Kosalaga or Kasi-Kosalaka.

So we see how the idea of 18 or 36 Gadjats Confederation originated in these tracts.

For any one who pursues the story of Koshal's early splendours—who remembers that she was once the mother of not only brave warriors and great statesmen but also of famous poets and philosophers—that once she was a seat of learning and the cradle of a unique culture which yet bids defiance to the caprices and canker of time, that once her masons and sculptors played with lime and stone and her artists with life and death and all that the eye can take in, it is scarcely possible to consider her pristine greatness and her present degradation without a sigh or a tear !

Unification of Koshal.—However, it is a matter of great solace and relief that the people of Koshal have begun to realise their responsibility and feel that the time has come when they ought to do something to retrieve their past glory and prestige. A movement for the unification of Koshal and formation of a separate Koshal Province has been afoot. The claims of Koshal to a separate unit on the grounds of geographical position, historical background, administrative convenience, financial stability, ethnological unity, cultural distinctiveness, etc., are self-evident. To state the case is to prove it. Thus united Koshal will be a stable, prosperous and homogeneous unit with an area of about 68,000 sq. miles, population of about 95 lacs and an immediate revenue of about 6 crores of rupees. A comparison with other provinces would amply bear out that the claims of Koshal cannot easily be ignored, if justice and fair-play guide the future redistribution of provincial boundaries even though our voice is not clamant enough nor our leaders in the foremost rank with those who are to decide the destinies of future India.

Koshal compared.

Province.	Area in sq. miles.	Population 1941 Census.	Revenue in crores.
Koshal (including States)	68,490	9,507,330	6·0 (approx.)
Sind	48,136	4,535,008	8·0
Assam	54,941	10,204,733	5·15
Orissa	32,198	8,728,544	3·6
N.-W.F.P.	14,268	3,038,067	2·7

Example of Ireland and Scotland.—It is rather unfortunate that some interests oppose the formation of the Koshal Province and agitate for union of Koshal with Kalinga or Utkal or British Orissa. Such a proposal simply betrays a short-sighted policy and those who advocate it forget their historical moorings and build without foundation. We must learn from others mistakes. It is notorious how the union of England and Ireland was forged in the teeth of stubborn opposition by the sober and far-sighted elements and how, as a result, Ireland was reduced to a colonial dependency to a mere appurtenance of England, and became the scorn and the commiseration of all other countries. It is also well known how Ireland realised her fatal mistake in course of time and started to set it right. After bitter struggle and strife, untold suffering and hardship she has at last succeeded to cut asunder the ignoble bond that tied her to the apron strings of England and has gained back her soul and prestige, position and prosperity.

Some might be under a misconception and cite the union of Scotland with England as an example to prove the contrary. But those who have studied the relations of Scotland and England know it well enough that Scotland has also fared no better in this union and within a short time she also is going to part company with England. It would appear from an article recently published named, " The Future of Scotland " by Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, who was Director-General of Political Warfare during the recent war, in which he says that, " The only purely national political body in Scotland to-day is the Scottish Nationalist Party. Its aims are clear, concise and extreme. They are self-government of Scotland, and the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the establishment of a democratic Scottish Government whose authority will be limited only by such agreements as will be freely entered."

Further, the same author says that " everything was done to sustain the heart (England) the limbs were sacrificed. And Scotland was the remotest limb " and that " this picture of present-day Scotland is sombre but it is not exaggerated..... the parliamentary record of Scottish M.P.s is a sorry tale of neglect of Scottish affairs and slavish obedience to the whips of the great English parties." And later on, he continues " radio is anglicising the Scottish vernacular which is the essence of Scotland's national culture."

So Scotland too has realised to its bitter cost how unfortunate and harmful this artificial union has proved in the long run.

It is hoped that those who suggest a union of Koshal and Utkal should think seriously on all these aspects before they lend their support to such a move.

Talking of Scottish vernacular one is reminded of the Sambalpuri language which is spoken by the major portion of Koshal—by over 75 lacs of people.

Sambalpuri Language.—It is alleged that Sambalpuri language is a dialect of the Oriya language and hence it is not necessary to make it the vehicle of expression in writing. People have been claiming that the Assamese also is a dialect of the Bengali language but this has not prevented it from becoming the language of literary expression as well. Every tyro of comparative philology knows that dialects have developed and blossomed forth into literary languages in course of time. It all depends upon the richness and flexibility of the dialect, on the opportunities and scope it gets for development as well as political support and sanction that it can command behind it. A dialect may remain a dialect and an appendage to some other language for all times or it may, given the facility for an independent growth, develop into a separate and different language altogether. It is an established philological axiom that geographical, political or occupational divisions between an originally similarly speaking group have led to dialect divisions also, and ultimately to different languages—the difference between dialect and language being one of degree and not of kind. Dialect is more a matter of pronunciation and grammar forms, language more of vocabulary. In the case of Sambalpuri language, it is not only a difference of pronunciation and grammar forms, but also of vocabulary—not only of tone, tenor and intonation, but also of temper, emphasis, mode and meaning. It is also well known that modern philologists are of opinion that the Celtic and Teutonic equally with the historic Greek and Latin and the still more ancient Persian and Sanskrit are all dialects of a primitive language which is now lost, the forms of which are not to be found fully or alone in any of its descendants ; but partly preserved, partly mutilated, partly lost, in each and all of them, are only to be gathered up from a careful collation of the whole. Again it is a settled principle of philological development that the predominance of a State or City which is also an intellectual and political centre, naturally promotes the spread of its own dialect. In Greece the dominance of Athens made general the use of Attic ; in ancient Italy there was a similar defusion of the Latin of Rome, as in medieval Italy—Sicilian and as in modern Italy—Tuscan. In England the Wessex dialect and its descendants similarly have led the way in literature. Nearer home we find that because Cuttack happens to be the political and intellectual centre of Orissa, the Cuttack dialect has monopolised the literary form of expression in Oriya language and gradually has succeeded in ousting the standard form of the Oriya language which was a sort of a refined form not spoken in any part but only used for the purposes of literary expression just like Sanskrit. Thus judged from the above principles of linguistic development the possibilities of the Sambalpuri language are great, and if Sambalpur becomes the political and intellectual centre of Koshal, it is sure that within a short time the Sambalpuri dialect will grow into a literary language and fulfil a great and long-felt need.

States and Democracy.—Before we conclude, we must examine one more important aspect in this connection. It stares us in the face and if we ignore it we do so at our own peril. We see that most of the Koshal Province consists of Indian States what we call to-day in common parlance "Indian India" to distinguish it from "British India." This distinction is a necessity—a technical necessity—of the exigency of the moment. We all understand that this division is only a political and administrative one. It is neither natural nor geographical. The people of British India and the people of Indian India are not at all different in any way that really matters. The people of Patna State which is in Indian India and those of Sambalpur District which is in British India or similarly the people of Bastar State and those of Bindra-Nawagarh cannot be distinguished. The prosperity of India as a whole—its political well-being as well as its economic advancement is dependent both on Indian India as also on British India. These two divisions are as it were the two wheels of the great Chariot of India. If India is to reach its goal, then both these two wheels must work in unison. The destinies of these two parts are so interlinked and intermingled that all attempts to separate them would be futile. They would sink or swim together. So it is unthinkable that when, with the coming of national independence and democracy, British India would bask in the sunshine of freedom, Indian India would continue to be haunted by the shadow of slavery. The sooner the princes realise this the better it would be for all concerned. It is the proud privilege of the princes to be masters of their people but at the same time they should not forget that they are also servants of the people. They should feel that there are nobler and higher things beyond the narrow horizon of their autocratic whims and they should realise that the office of kingship is not irreconcilable with the idea of democracy. Democracy can very well flourish even under rulers. Great Britain, which is regarded as the champion of democratic countries and is said to have the best form of democratic government, has still retained the office of kingship. Mahatma Gandhi on April 20th in 1940 wrote in *Harijan :* "Whilst, therefore, I have no difficulty in generally endorsing Shri Jayprakash's proposition in terms of non-violence, I cannot endorse his proposition about the princes. Whatever settlement is arrived at the nation will have to carry out in full. The settlement is sure to result in giving the people of the States the same right of self-government within their States as the people of the other parts of India will enjoy. They will have freedom of speech, a free press and pure justice guaranteed to them. Perhaps Shri Jayprakash has no faith in the princes automatically surrendering their autocracy. I have. First because they are just as good human beings as we are, and secondly because of my belief in the potency of genuine non-violence." So the States should have a liberal constitution and healthy conventions on democratic lines, so that they can be welded with the British Indian provinces to form an All-India Union. Thus the salvation of the princes as well as the people lies in having responsible government in Indian States and then joining the Indian Union.

To conclude, the proposed Koshal Province should have responsible government at the provincial centre as well as in the various State-units, and if it comes to be achieved with the Grace of God and the co-operation of her neighbours, Koshal will march forward in rapid strides to plenty and prosperity and will be able soon to take her rightful place in the Future Indian Republic.

JAI KOSHAL.

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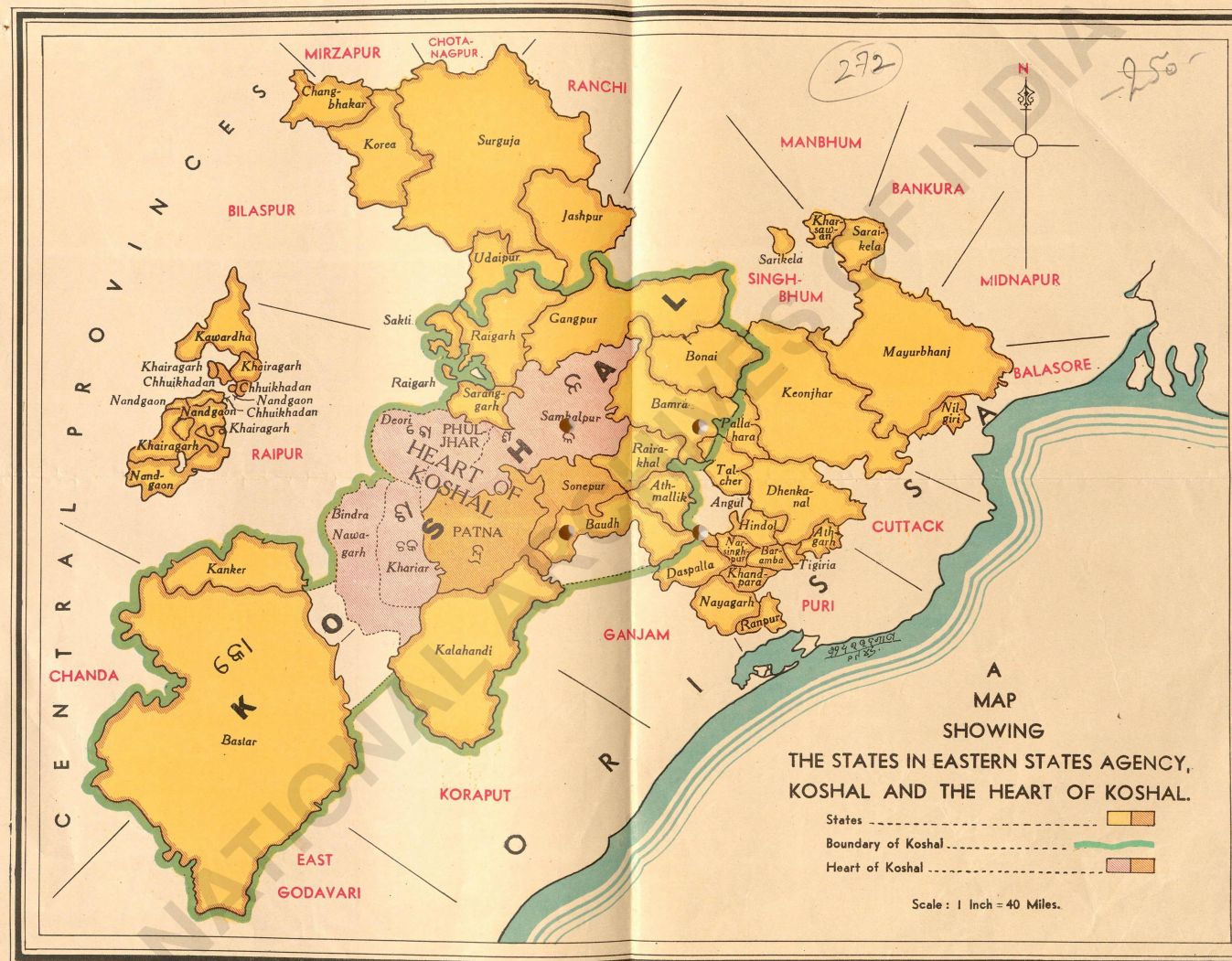

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GLEANINGS FROM REPRESENTATIONS

Rayalseema Province

BY A RAYALSEEMA CONGRESS ORGANISER

ANDHRA AND TAMIL DISTRICTS

1. Three Linguistic Provinces

Interest is once again focused on the Linguistic division of our province. The Andhra-Tamil rivalry is an old affair. Some people have really prospered by exploiting this tribalism among the Andhras. Last week some one claimed all the areas between the Tungabhadra and Cape Comorin for the Tamil Nad Province. In my 50 years of public life a more preposterous proposal never appeared in the press.

Six of the twelve Andhra districts are along the East Coast while the inland five districts known as Rayalseema are in the Eastern Ghats. This area covers $\frac{2}{3}$rds of the province called Andhra. But it contains only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the Andhras.

Among the coastal Andhras the best patriot is the person who uses the most indecent language against the Tamilians and their leaders. The crux of the problem is the city of Madras. Rayalseema contains a mixed population like Madras. But Telugu is universally spoken.

The most rational way of dividing the Andhra Tamil Districts is to form 3 groups. The Tamilian group will

consist of 10 or more districts with its capital in Madras or Trichy. The 2nd group will consist of Rayalseema Districts with their capital in Madras and includes all areas between Bellary and Madras. The 3rd group will contain the 6 coastal Districts with their capital at Bezwada or Guntur. This may be the final shape of things to come. The people in the Andhra Coastal districts became unpopular on account of the wrong ways of dealing with the people of Rayalseema who hate them even as Andhras hate Tamilians. They became as notorious as the Nazi-Germans.

The Andhra Coastal Districts are well developed deltas but the Rayalseema Districts with their vast mineral wealth and vacant arable lands are yet to be exploited. Common people in these Western Districts are against joining with the Coastal Andhras for many reasons. Madras should have been proclaimed as a free city.

2. Andhra Province

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE RESOLUTION in the Constituent Assembly was sponsored at an unfortunate hour in our political history. In our present situation the two Andhra leaders, Sri. Prakasam and Gopal Reddi, stand in a factious tangle. It will take several months to bring in a dynamic situation that will produce a new leader or restore them to popular confidence.

The coastal Andhra Districts have become a big problem in our public life. The Andhras are a generous, fair and frank people. But only two groups of men occupy the stage for over two decades. There is a group of men for daring intrigue and factionism which has captured Prakasam. A second group of adventurers calculating and

extremely jealous have captured Gopal Reddi. In both the groups there are several men whose hobby has been cruel criticism scoffing at rivals and power politics. These made a bad impression on people in western ~~countries~~ districts.

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Therefore our friends of the Consambly have to wait in patience for a better hour to divide the province.

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Mountains and forests seperate the coastal districts from Rayalaseema. There have been no communal affinities nor matrimonial alliances between them. If they are united by force of a sudden legislation the story of Palestine will be repeated in the west Andhra Districts.

4. Want of Affinities

The people of Rayalaseema strongly protest against their inclusion with coastal Andhras into a single province. In tastes and traditions, in cultures and qualities Rayalaseema people markedly differ and refuse to surrender their vast potential wealth in minerals, forests and waste lands. The coastal deltas are among the richest tracts in India but they suffer from over population. There are landless and jobless millions. A small percentage of population have lands. In a few years a communist republic is possible in Kistna district which is the richest part of the province and is also the head quarters of Communist party in the province with a Press and a daily paper.

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The inclusion of districts and Taluqs should be based on popular consent. Census reports and bold resolutions in distant cities will never give possesion of properties and populations. Against the mad claims of coastal orators

West Andhras say 'We have strong hands and sharp knives'. They will ask for a plebiscite if Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel precipitates a situation. In North India Provinces the Boundaries Commision went too early and before transferring populations. A civil war was the result. The terms of reference should include the possibility of three Provinces and their early formation. The present grouping of Taluqs and districts was the result of historical events but is not based on any scientific principles and is not suitable for our present needs. The whole of this composite-Province should go into the melting pot but new formations should be based on the wishes of the people.

5. Complex Problems

These 2 groups of districts greatly differ in their angles and approaches of problems of Production and distribution of industry and development.

The large coastal plains and the cool sequestered inland valleys between Bengal and Tamilnad are populated by a prolific race called Telugus or Andhras who may exceed three crores in number. Sullen and secluded, rough and forbiding Bay of Bengal protected them on the eastern side. Can they be hurdled into a single province ? The idea of a linguistic province is thirty years old when our ideas of a province were vague and remote, when the British authority in India was poised between the India minister in London and bureaucratic steal frame in India, when the regional language was confined to social life. After the departure of the British the province-idea has gained a dyna mic freshness. Now the formation of a province has become a most urgent problem and our supreme interest as

province is the seat of power now. Decades ago the Andhra University began to function. Our High Schools and colleges work under affiliation with Madras University. If we should build more colleges and schools we should have a seperate University which becomes possible when province and power are perched in our own hands. Freedom means power to orgnise resourses of wealth. The central federation is responsible for finance and currency and keeps credits with foreign banking.

Prakasam's scheme is neither scientific nor acceptable to inland districts.

6. Pacts

If our pinchbeck dictator Prakasam is a master in tactics and expert in approaches, we need not be dismayed, when we organise ourselves and begin to depend on oursel ves he will come round to lead us. We need not be afraid of our friends who have dedicated their lives to some coastal Andhra leaders. These opportunists will never miss the bus.

When we had no real Power, we thought and spoke in terms of places. We made pacts with northern leaders for mere places as in 'Sreebagh Pact', Now our enemies are those who want to settle the 'places' and those who accept weightage are no better than Harijans.

This moment for a seperate province will help us to become masters of our own destiny. We have to face our problems and situations directly without depending on cunning coastal Andhras.

There is no altruism at the national level. It acts well in limited social life and best between individuals.

The era of Pacts is over and we refuse to compromise the future of our Posterity.

Vigilence is the life of democracy. Our people should learn their rights and duties and be watchful to cooperate in a spirit of service.

When we were in craven subservience to foreign power it made no difference whether we were under the Practical Tamilians or vociferous Andhras. We learnt a new way of life in struggle period. We lived in simplicity and with the sense of a cause to work and suffer for. We should not fight ~~the~~ shy of the new Vision. There is no tract in India more resourceful and potential than Rayalseema and we have to work for it and the new way of life will take us to the right goal.

7. Anologies

Structurally the Andhra areas go into two provinces. The plea for a single andhra Province scares away several Andhra areas now included in the Tamilnad.

~~The~~ Ten provincial states are run in Australia with 6½ million populaton. A great nation of seven million people have lived in a district called Holland. Travancorein area equal to one of our districts became a leading Province with the magic power of freedom. Even before losing Sylhet Assam had five crores of Revenue; Adibasi districts in Behar want a seperate province ; Cooch Behar may seperate in a few months. A strange phylosophy of limitations

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was preached by the learned Andhra orators when Orissa wanted a free life ! When the threefold exploitation by the British, the Tamilians and coastal Andhras ends real Swaraj will reach the poor docile people of Rayalseema. Small provinces like Travancore, Baroda or Orissa are known to work better in a new deal than big provinces.

Swami Narayanananda Saraswathi,
Congress Organiser,
Rayalseema

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Map (after Grierson.
(vide P. 8, para 26 of the Memorandum)

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BUKABAND
KUTHIR
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AREA IN WHICH MAGHI MAIN LANGUAGE, BUT BENGALI ALSO SPOKEN

Do Do BENGALI Do Do MAGHI, KURMALI Do

Do Do BHOJPURI Do Do BENGALI Do

Do Do ORIYA Do Do MAGAHI Do

SARAIKELA :- BENGALI IS MAIN LANGUAGE BUT MAGAHI + ALSO SPOKEN

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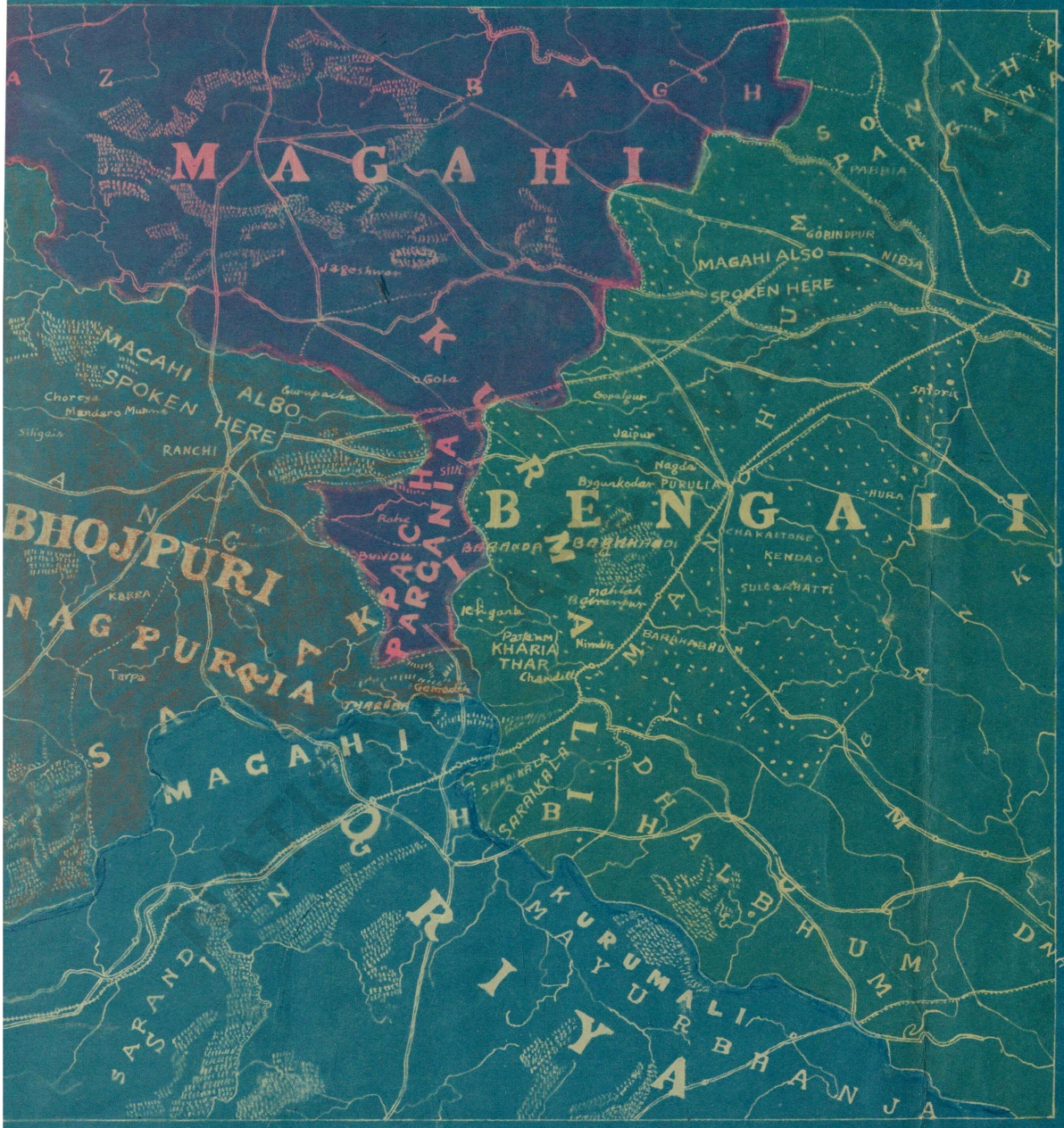
Aryan Languages and Dialects spoken in East Chota Nagpur.



Map - after Grierson.

(vide P 8 para 26 of the Memorandum)

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ANDHRA AND TAMIL DISTRICTS

1. Three Linguistic Provinces

Interest is once again focused on the Linguistic division of our province. The Andhra-Tamil rivalry is an old affair. Some people have really prospered by exploiting this tribalism among the Andhras. Last week some one claimed all the areas between the Tungabhadra and Cape Comorin for the Tamil Nad Province. In my 50 years of public life a more preposterous proposal never appeared in the press.

Six of the twelve Andhra districts are along the East Coast while the inland five districts known as Rayalseema are in the Eastern Ghats. This area covers $\frac{2}{3}$rds of the province called Andhra. But it contains only $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the Andhras.

Among the coastal Andhras the best patriot is the person who uses the most indecent language against the Tamilians and their leaders. The crux of the problem is the city of Madras. Rayalseema contains a mixed population like Madras. But Telugu is universally spoken.

The most rational way of dividing the Andhra Tamil Districts is to form 3 groups. The Tamilian group will

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consist of 10 or more districts with its capital in Madras or Trichy. The 2nd group will consist of Rayalseema Districts with their capital in Madras and includes all areas between Bellary and Madras. The 3rd group will contain the 6 coastal Districts with their capital at Bezwada or Guntur. This may be the final shape of things to come. The people in the Andhra Coastal districts became unpopular on account of the wrong ways of dealing with the people of Rayalseema who hate them even as Andhras hate Tamilians. They became as notorious as the Nazi-Germans.

The Andhra Coastal Districts are well developed deltas but the Rayalseema Districts with their vast mineral wealth and vacant arable lands are yet to be exploited. Common people in these Western Districts are against joining with the Coastal Andhras for many reasons. Madras should have been proclaimed as a free city.

2. Andhra Province

THE ANDHRA PROVINCE RESOLUTION in the Constituent Assembly was sponsored at an unfortunate hour in our political history. In our present situation the two Andhra leaders, Sri. Prakasam and Gopal Reddi, stand in a factious tangle. It will take several months to bring in a dynamic situation that will produce a new leader or restore them to popular confidence.

The coastal Andhra Districts have become a big problem in our public life. The Andhras are a generous, fair and frank people. But only two groups of men occupy the stage for over two decades. There is a group of men for daring intrigue and factionism which has captured Prakasam. A second group of adventurers calculating and

extremely jealous have captured Gopal Reddi. In both the groups there are several men whose hobby has been cruel criticism scoffing at rivals and power politics. These made a bad impression on people in western ~~countries~~ districts.

There have been two powerful factions in Kistna and Guntur Districts which often divided the Provincial Council's also ever since Morley-Minto reforms. Prakasam got the support of one faction and Gopal Reddi is honoured by the other faction. Each of these factions consists of millions of people.

If the Andhra Province should become an accomplished fact by the superior influence of coastal leaders like Prakasam and Pattabhi, some of the scenes now in Northern India will be enacted here which will not be a pleasant sight.

Therefore our friends of the Consambly have to wait in patience for a better hour to divide the province.

3. Two Hostile Camps

There have been two parallel movements among the Andhras, for more than two decades. The Andhra Province movement has been run into wild tribal sloganism by workers in coastal areas while the workers in West Andhra districts have been running a rival fanatical movement for a sepearate Rayalaseema Province. The coastal Andhras are notorious for their oral extavagance and scheming; while western inland Andhras are ever under power of emotions and impulses. The coastal Andhra leaders have control of press and platform in outside places like Madras.

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Mountains and forests seperate the coastal districts from Rayalaseema. There have been no communal affinities nor matrimonial alliances between them. If they are united by force of a sudden legislation the story of Palestine will be repeated in the west Andhra Districts.

4. Want of Affinities

The people of Rayalaseema strongly protest against their inclusion with coastal Andhras into a single province. In tastes and traditions, in cultures and qualities Rayalaseema people markedly differ and refuse to surrender their vast potential wealth in minerals, forests and waste lands. The coastal deltas are among the richest tracts in India but they suffer from over population. There are landless and jobless millions. A small percentage of population have lands. In a few years a communist republic is possible in Kistna district which is the richest part of the province and is also the head quarters of Communist party in the province with a Press and a daily paper.

Rayalseema people wish to form a seperate province including districts between Bellary and Madras with major Portions of North Arcot, Nellore, and Chengulpet. These eight districts have powerful Reddies who have no communal affinities with coastal people. Theft and forgery are not known in Rayalseema. There is scheming speculation and bragging along coastal Andhras who are not very popular.

The inclusion of districts and Taluqs should be based on popular consent. Census reports and bold resolutions in distant cities will never give possesion of properties and populations. Against the mad claims of coastal orators

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West Andhras say 'We have strong hands and sharp knives'. They will ask for a plebiscite if Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel precipitates a situation. In North India Provinces the Boundaries Commision went too early and before transferring populations. A civil war was the result. The terms of reference should include the possibility of three Provinces and their early formation. The present grouping of Taluqs and districts was the result of historical events but is not based on any scientific principles and is not suitable for our present needs. The whole of this composite-Province should go into the melting pot but new formations should be based on the wishes of the people.

5. Complex Problems

These 2 groups of districts greatly differ in their angles and approaches of problems of Production and distribution of industry and development.

The large coastal plains and the cool sequestered inland valleys between Bengal and Tamilnad are populated by a prolific race called Telugus or Andhras who may exceed three crores in number. Sullen and secluded, rough and forbiding Bay of Bengal protected them on the eastern side. Can they be hurdled into a single province ? The idea of a linguistic province is thirty years old when our ideas of a province were vague and remote, when the British authority in India was poised between the India minister in London and bureaucratic steal frame in India, when the regional language was confined to social life. After the departure of the British the province-idea has gained a dyna mic freshness. Now the formation of a province has become a most urgent problem and our supreme interest as

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province is the seat of power now. Decades ago the Andhra University began to function. Our High Schools and colleges work under affiliation with Madras University. If we should build more colleges and schools we should have a seperate University which becomes possible when province and power are perched in our own hands. Freedom means power to orgnise resourses of wealth. The central federation is responsible for finance and currency and keeps credits with foreign banking.

Prakasam's scheme is neither scientific nor acceptable to inland districts.

6. Pacts

If our pinchbeck dictator Prakasam is a master in tactics and expert in approaches, we need not be dismayed, when we organise ourselves and begin to depend on oursel ves he will come round to lead us. We need not be afraid of our friends who have dedicated their lives to some coastal Andhra leaders. These opportunists will never miss the bus.

When we had no real Power, we thought and spoke in terms of places. We made pacts with northern leaders for mere places as in 'Sreebagh Pact', Now our enemies are those who want to settle the 'places' and those who accept weightage are no better than Harijans.

This moment for a seperate province will help us to become masters of our own destiny. We have to face our problems and situations directly without depending on cunning coastal Andhras.

There is no altruism at the national level. It acts well in limited social life and best between individuals.

The era of Pacts is over and we refuse to compromise the future of our Posterity.

Vigilence is the life of democracy. Our people should learn their rights and duties and be watchful to cooperate in a spirit of service.

When we were in craven subservience to foreign power it made no difference whether we were under the Practical Tamilians or vociferous Andhras. We learnt a new way of life in struggle period. We lived in simplicity and with the sense of a cause to work and suffer for. We should not fight ~~the~~ shy of the new Vision. There is no tract in India more resourceful and potential than Rayalseema and we have to work for it and the new way of life will take us to the right goal.

7. Anologies

Structurally the Andhra areas go into two provinces. The plea for a single andhra Province scares away several Andhra areas now included in the Tamilnad.

Ten

~~The~~ provincial states are run in Australia with 6½ million populaton. A great nation of seven million people have lived in a district called Holland. Travancorein area equal to one of our districts became a leading Province with the magic power of freedom. Even before losing Sylhet Assam had five crores of Revenue; Adibasi districts in Behar want a seperate province; Cooch Behar may seperate in a few months. A strange phylosophy of limitations

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was preached by the learned Andhra orators when Orissa wanted a free life ! When the threefold exploitation by the British, the Tamilians and coastal Andhras ends real Swaraj will reach the poor docile people of Rayalseema. Small provinces like Travancore, Baroda or Orissa are known to work better in a new deal than big provinces.

Swami Narayanananda Saraswathi,
Congress Organiser,
Rayalseema

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF INDIA

Sreevatsa Press, Royapettah, Madars. Q.H.M.S.
No. 299—D, C. 500, 20—9—'47.

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YEAR.
1943.
FILE NO. 1-P/48.
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Papers regarding the formation
of Provinces on Linguistic Buses.
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To
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Shri Subba Rao.
Shri S. Nijaling appa
Shri S.K.Ganguly,
Shri G.V. Subba Rao.
Shri B.P. Poddar.
Dr. R.P.
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Shri Nand Kumar.
Shri S.K.Ganguly.
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Shri R.S. Pande.
Shri Nand Kumar.
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17.
The Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon.
Dr. R.P.
6-4-48.
18.
The President, Kopargaon Town
Municipality.
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19.
Shri R.S. Pande.
Shri Nand Kumar.
10-4-48.

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Shri G.V. Subbarao.
Dr. R.P.
17-4-48.
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Shri Desabhakta Konda Venkatappayya.
30-4-48.
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Shri K.P.Saxena.
Dr. R.P.
28-5-48.
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Mr.Si K. J.Jacob.
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Dr. R.P.
Secy., C.A.
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Shri K.J.Jacob.
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Shri S.K. Patil.
Dr. R.P.
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Shri S.K. Patil,
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Shri K.M.Munshi.
Dr. R.P.
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Shri Tekumalla RamachandraRao.
2-7-48.

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31.
Press Note issued by the secretariat of the C.A. on ..
COPY OF THE LETTER FROM SHRI DARAB CURSETJI DRIVER, PRESIDENT,
R COAL CONSUMERS ASSOCIATION OF INDIA TO DR. R.P., PRESIDENT,
C.A. ON 24TH JULY, 1948.
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Dr. R.P.
Shri S.K.Dar.
26-7-48.
33.
Shri S.K.Dar.
Dr. R.P.
28-7-48.
(Its reply from Dr. R. P. sent on 2-8-48 attached with it.)
34.
Press Note issued by the Secretariat of the C.A.
35.
Shri R.R.Dwikar.
Dr. R.P.
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Dr. R.P.
Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gaur.
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Municipal President, Akallkot. Dr. R.P.
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Shri Sri Ram Jha.
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Shri Mannarayan Agarwal.
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Press Communi que issued by the C.A. of India.
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Dr. R.P.
Secy., C.A.
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Shri K.V. Padmanabhan.
Dr. R.P.
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Travancore Prime Minister.
8-9-48.
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Dr. R.P.
Shri Bishwanath Das.
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Dr. R.P.
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Shri Panna Lall.

Shri K.M.Munshi.
Dr. R.P.
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Shri K.M.Munshi.
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Lakshmeshvar.
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Shri Jagat Narain.
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Dr. Panna Lall.
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Shri S.K. Dar.
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Dr. Panna Lall.
Secy., C.A.
Shri Chakradhar.
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16-2-49.
58.
READJUSTMENT OF WEST BENGAL BOUNDARY, CHIEFLY ON LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BASIS.
Dr. R.P.
12-3-49.
16-3-49.

59.
Shri A.L. Narasimha Sarma.
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MEMORANDUM ON AMALGAMATION OF BENGALI-SPEAKING TRACTS IN BIHAR AND ORISSA WITH WEST BENGAL.

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INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS DEPARTMENT.
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DOCTOR RAJENDRA PRASAD
CONGRESS
PRESIDENT NEW DELHI
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w
RESPECTFULLY SUGGEST REFERENCE BACK PATTARHI COMMITTEE CASES OF KARNATAK
KERALA MAHRASHTRA PROVINCES FUTURE OF BOMPAY MADRAS NEWLY MERCED STATES
TERRITORIES BOUNDARIES PRINCIPLE AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES RIGHTS FOR DETAILED
INVESTIGATION BEFORE NEXT SESSION CONSAMBLY
「品味
SUBBARAO SECRETARY
LINGUISTIC LEAGUE ===

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TO
FROM
25/1/48
THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE
OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,
NEW DELHI.
g
SRI. S. NIJALINGAPPA,
PRESIDENT, KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS
COMMITTEE
AND
MEMBERS OF THE DEPUTATION ON BEHALF OF THE
K.P.C.C. AND THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND OF THE PRO-
VINCIAL LEGISLATURES FROM KARNATAKA.
RESPECTED SIRS,
RE: THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF THE
PROVINCE OF KARNATAK.
WE ARE MAKING THIS REPRESENTATION IN PURSUANCE OF THE SOLEMN RESOLUTION (COPY OF WHICH HAS BEEN ALREADY SUBMITTED) OF A. SPECIAL MEETING HELD AT HUBLI ON 14-1-48 OF THE KARNATAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE AND MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AS WELL AS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES OF BOMBAY, MADRAS, AND COORG. WE ARE APPROACHING YOU IN THE HOPE THAT THIS FINAL EFFORT OF OURS WOULD BRING HOME TO YOU THAT THE IMMEDIATE FORMATION OF THE KARNATAKA PROVINCE IS OF URGENT NECESSITY AND THAT THE PROBLEM DOES NOT BROOK ANY DELAY.
WE WISH TO BRING TO YOUR NOTICE THAT KARNATAK HAS FOR NEARLY 3 DECADES LOOKED UPON THE FORMATION OF THE VARIOUS SCATTERED AND DISMEMBERED PARTS OF THE KANNADA SPEAKING PEOPLE IN INDIA INTO A SINGLE PROVINCE AS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE NEXT ONLY TO THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR COUNTRY'S FREEDOM.
AND DURING ALL THIS PERIOD THE CONGRESS AND THE KARNATAK P.C.C. HAVE RIGHTLY AND REPEATEDLY ENCOURAGED THE PEOPLE IN THIS ASPIRATION AND HAVE FROM TIME TO TIME MADE PROMISES AND GIVEN PLEDGES FOR ITS FULFILMENT IMMEDIATELY ON THE ATTAINMENT OF FREEDOM. THE NEHRU COMMITTEE RE-

COMMENDED A SEPARATE PROVINCE FOR KARNATAK IN 1928. TEN YEARS LATER, IN 1938 THE CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE, AT ITS WARDHA MEETING, PASSED THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:-

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"HAVING HEARD THE VIEWS OF THE DEPUTATIONS OF THE ANDHRA P.C.C., THE ANDHRA MAHASABA, THE KARNATAK UNIFICATION COMMITTEE, THE KARNATAK P.C.C. AND THE KERALA P.C.C. ON THE QUESTION OF THE REDISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES IN INDIA ON A LINGUISTIC BASIS FOR ADMINISTRATIVE PURPOSES, THIS COMMITTEE DECLARES THAT THE RESOLUTION OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE ON LINGUISTIC PROVINCES AND OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATURE ON THE SEPARATION OF THE KARNATAK PROVINCE, WERE PASSED WITH THE PREVIOUS SANCTION OF THE PARLIAMENTARY SUB-COMMITTEE AND THE FULL APPROVAL OF THIS COMMITTEE. THIS COMMITTEE DESIRES TO ASSURE THE PEOPLE OF THE AREAS CONCERNED THAT THE SOLUTION OF THIS QUESTION WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN AS A PART OF THE FUTURE SCHEME OF THE GOVERN-
(so
MENT OF INDIA, AS SOON AS THE CONGRESS HAS THE POWER TO DO, AND CALLS UPON THE PEOPLE OF THE SE AREAS TO DESIST FROM ANY FURTHER AGITATION IN THIS BEHALF, WHICH MAY DIVERT THE ATTENTION FROM THE MAIN ISSUE NOW BEFORE THE COUNTRY."
SINCE THEN IN 1947 THE LEGISLATURES OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY HAVE AGAIN REITERATED THE SAME REQUEST WHICH HAS
(2 repeated
ALSO BEEN PASSED BY THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK IN MEETINGS and OF CONFERENCES HELD FROM TIME TO TIME.
(5 the
AND WHEN, MOMENT FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THESE PAST PLEDGES HAS ARRIVED AND THE CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNTRY IS BEING FORGED THE RECENT PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER TO THE EFFECT THAT WHILST THE FORMATION OF THE
is
ANDHRA AS EASY AND WOULD BE IMPLEMENTED SOON THAT OF
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KARNATAK AND OTHER PROVINCES WAS MORE COMPLICATED AND
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INVOLVED FURTHER INVESTIGATION, HAS CAUSED MUCH PAIN AND
DISAPPOINTMENT IN THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK.
WE EARNESTLY IMPLORE YOU TO RECONSIDER THIS MATTER.
THE QUESTION OF A SEPARATE PROVINCE IS IMPORTANT FROM THE
POINT OF VIEW OF DAY TO DAY EXISTENCE FOR THE

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6
SUPPRESSED PEOPLE OF KARNATAK.
FREEDOM BY ITSELF MEANS
NOTHING IF IT CANNOT ALSO SHOW THE MUCH NEEDED CHANGE
AND IMPROVEMENT IN ALL THAT GOES TO MAKE UP THE DAILY LIFE
OF THE MASSES OF THESE AREAS. ALREADY IN THE COMPOSITE
AREAS OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY THE VOICES OF THE IR REPRESENTA-
TIVES IN THE LEGISLATURES COUNT FOR LITTLE OR NOTHING.
BUT WITH AND UPON THE IMMEDIATE SEPARATION OF ANDHRA THE
DAY-TO-DAY ADMINISTRATION IN THE SE AREAS WILL BECOME
IMPOSSIBLE PARTICULARLY IN THE LARGE AND SCATTERED BORDER
AREAS OF KARNATAK, IF KARNATAKA IS AL SO NOT IMMEDIATELY
SEPARATED. AREAS LIKE NILGIRIS, SOUTH KANARA, THE KANNA DA
AREAS IN THE DISTRICTS OF COIMBATORE, SALEM AND BELLARY
CANNOT CONTINUE THE IR EXISTENCE IN THE RESIDUARY PROVINCE
OF TAMILNAD WHERE THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK WILL HAVE NO VOICE
AT ALL. OUR VITAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS THAT OF EDUCATION, FOOD,
IRRIGATION, INDUSTRIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT CANNOT BE
PLANNED OR TACKLED. THIS WILL BECOME POSSIBLE ONLY IF AND
WHEN WE HAVE A PROVINCE OF OUR OWN.
IT IS NO DOUBT, A MATTER OF GRATIFICATION TO US THAT
THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT HAS ACCEPTED GENERALLY THE
PRINCIPLE OF FORMING LINGUISTIC PROVINCES. BUT AT THE SAME
TIME IT IS TO BE REGRETTED THAT DISCRIMINATION HAS BEEN MADE
BETWEEN ANDHRA AND KARNATAK. IF AT ALL ANY PRIORITY WERE TO
BE GIVEN IT SHOULD GO TO THAT WHICH SUFFERED AND IS SUFFERING
MOST BY REASON OF LONG DISMEMBERMENT AND DISINTEGRATION. BUT

INSTEAD A STEP IS CONTEMPLATED WHICH WILL MAKE THE LOT OF OUP PEOPLE WORSE THAN WHAT IT IS TODAY.
THE CONGRESS HAD UNDER THE WISE GUIDANCE AND LEADER-SHIP OF GANDHIJI THE FORESIGHT TO FORM LINGUISTIC PROVINCES || 1920 FOR ITS OWN ORGANISATION AND FOR THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM. THIS FORESIGHT HAS BEEN AMPLY REWARDED BUT THE LOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE FORMATION OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES FOR PURPOSES OF ADMINISTRATION IS YET TO COME. WE REGRET TO NOTE THAT OUR EFFORTS IN THIS BEHALF SHOULD BE MISUNDER-

STOOD IN SOME QUARTERS AS FISSI PAROUS. WE WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT THAT WE BELIEVE WITH LARGE NUMBERS OF EMINENT CONGRESSMEN THAT IT WOULD BE A GREAT ACT OF CONSTRUCTIVE STATE SMANSHIP TO FORM LINGUISTIC PROVINCES IMMEDIATELY SO THAT THEY MAY DEVELOP TO THEIR FULL STATURE AS LIVE UNITS OF THE INDIAN UNION.
WE ARE NOT UNMINDFUL OF THE GREAT TROUBLES THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE IS NOW FACING THROUGH SUCH AND SIMILAR PROBLEMS ARE BOUND TO PERSIST FOR SOME TIME TO COME IN ONE (a the
FORM OR ANOTHER. BUT WE ASSURE YOU THAT, WORK INVOLVED IN
人
THE FORMATION OF KARNATAK WILL NOT COME IN THE WAY OF THE SE LARGER PROBLEMS ANY MORE THAN THE FORMATION OF ANDHRA. IN FACT WE BELIEVE THAT A SPEEDY SOLUTION OF THESE TWO LOCAL PROBLEMS WILL ENTHUSE THE SE PEOPLE AND HELP TO FORM STRONG AND HOMOGENOUS PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AND BE A SOURCE OF POSITIVE STRENGTH AND SUPPORT TO THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE RATHER THAN THE DISSATISFIED PEOPLES AND DI SUNITED AND WEAK GOVERNMENTS NOW OBTAINING IN THESE COMPOSITE AREAS.
IN THIS CONTEXT THEREFORE THE STATEMENT IN QUESTION HAS CAUSED BITTER AND KEEN RESENTMENT IN THE MINDS OF THE PEOPLE OF KARNATAK. VARIOUS MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES HAVE PROTESTED AGAINST IT. THE KARNATAK MEMBERS OF THE BOMBAY LEGISLATURE ON 15-10-1947 AND OF THE MADRAS LEGISLATURE ON

4-12-1947 HAVE IN THE IR MEMORAN DA TO THE PRESIDENT, THE PRIME MINISTERS AND OTHERS CLEARLY POINTED OUT THE IMMEDIATE / (30
NECESSITY AND URGENCY OF THE PROBLEM. A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. AND OF THE KARNATAK MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES OF BOMBAY. MADRAS AND COORG HAVE REVIEWED THE WHOLE SITUATION IN THE PROVINCE ARISING OUT OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT. THE RESOLUTION IS BEFORE YOU. WE BEG OF YOU THAT THE FORMATION OF KARNATAK SHOULD BE TAKEN UP

SIMULTANE OUSLY WITH THAT OF ANDHRA. WE ARE NOT FOR PUTTING OFF EITHER. FOR THAT WILL CREATE FURTHER UNNECESSARY BITTER-NESS IN OUR RESPECTIVE AREAS. ONCE THE PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN ACCEPTED IT IS TO THE ADVANTAGE OF ALL THAT IT SHOULD BE PUT THROUGH WITH THE LEAST POSSIBLE DELAY.
IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH WE HAVE BROUGHT TO YOUR NOTICE WE HOPE YOU WOULD BE PLEASED TO GRANT OUR REQUEST FOR THE FORMATION OF OUR PROVINCE
regret
SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ANDHRA. FAILING THIS, WE REQUEST, WE SHALL HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SEEK YOUR PERMISSION X IN TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE K.P.C.C. (14-1-48) TO RESIGN FROM OUR SEATS IN THE LEGISLATURES CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL.
Co
YOURS SINCERELY,
K. B. Gowdar)
Zum #
NEW DELHI,
25TH JANUARY, 1948.
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Crippalil
3. Kowder
Baangle
3. Anautachar) 4.
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President K.P.C.C. +
M.C.A.
M.L.A. & Minister of Agriculture, Bombay.
M.L.A. Nilgiris, Madras.
M.L.A. Bellary.
9
Madras.
South Kanara and
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K. R. Karauth. M.L.A., Ex. Minister, Madras.
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. Pärtel. M. L.A. Dharwar.
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BOMBAY :
· P. Gaonkar) 8 S.-P. Ganka H.L.A. Belgaum and by Speaker
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Bombay Legitatione Assentſ
Ruby Bondly
M.L.A. Karwar, Parliameng
10 B. N. Munavalli M.C. A. Deccan States.

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KARNA TAK PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE, HUBLI.
COPY OF THE RESOLUTION PASSED AT THE SPECIAL GENERAL
BODY MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. HELD AT HUBLI ON 14TH JAN. 1948.
RESOLUTION NO. 2.
"THIS SPECIAL GENERAL BODY OF THE K.P.C.C. TO WHICH
THE MEMBERS OF THE MADRAS & BOMBAY LEGISLATURES AND CONSTÍ -
TUENT ASSEMBLY MEMBERS AND OTHER INVITEES ARE INVITED HAS
REVIEWED THE SITUATION IN ALL PARTS OF KARNATAKA ARISING
OUT OF THE REACTION OF THE STATEMENT OF THE PREMIER PUNDIT
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU ON THE 27TH OF NOVEMBER 147 ON THE FLOOR
OF THE INDIAN PARLIAMENT REGARDING THE FORMATION OF LIN-
GUISTIC PROVINCES. WHILE IT NOTES WITH APPROVAL THAT THE

INDIAN GOVERNMENT HAS ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES, THE FACT THAT ANDHRA ONLY WILL BE RECOGNISED AS A PROVINCE HAS BROUGHT ABOUT DISSATISFACTION, FRUSTRATION AND RESENTMENT THROUGHOUT KARNATAKA. THIS MEETING IS DEFINITELY OF OPINION THAT SUCH DISCRIMINATION IS SURE TO ACT DETRIMENTALLY TO OUR PROVINCE WHICH HAS ALREADY SUFFERED BY DISINTEGRATION AND THAT THE GROUNDS URGED FOR PUTTING OFF THE CLAIM OF KARNATAKA TO BE RECOGNISED IMMEDIATELY AS A PROVINCE ARE UNCONVINCING AND URGES THAT THE KARNATAK PROVINCE SHOULD BE FORMED SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH ANDHRA AND UNUMERATE KARNATAKA AS A PROVINCE IN THE CONSTITUTION THAT IS BEING FRAMED.

THIS MEETING HAS NOTED WITH GREAT CONCERN THE GROWING FEELING OF THE RESTLESSNESS AT THE DELAY BY THE UNION GOVERNMENT IN RESPECTING THE CLAIM OF KARNATAKA AS A SEPARATE PROVINCE AND IS EMPHATICALLY OF THE VIEW THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE LEGISLATURES WILL NOT BE IN A POSITION TO REFLECT PUBLIC OPINION NOR FUNCTION AS SUCH AS LONG AS THE IR CLAIM IS NOT RECOGNISED AND KARNATAKA IS NOT FORMED ALONG WITH ANDHRA. IT, THEREFORE, URGES THE HIGH COMMAND TO GIVE DUE ATTENTION TO THIS VITAL PROBLEM AND MAKE A DECLARATION FORTHWITH THAT KARNATAKA COULD BE FORMED AS PROVINCE OF THE UNION ALONG WITH ANDHRA WITHOUT MAKING ANY DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE PROVINCES. IT FURTHER RESPECTFULLY WISHES TO BRING TO THE NOTICE OF THE HIGH COMMAND THAT IN CASE THIS LEGITIMATE DEMAND IS NOT CONCEDED AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE, THE MEMBERS FROM KARNATAKA IN ALL THE LEGISLATURES, CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO REQUEST THE HIGH COMMAND TO ALLOW THEM TO RESIGN FROM THOSE BODIES AS AFIRST STEP.

THE MEETING AT THE SAME TIME ASSURES THE HIGH COMMAND AND THE COUNTRY THAT IT IS QUITE ALIVE TO THE GREAT PRESSING PROBLEMS THAT ARE ENGAGING THE ATTENTION OF THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THAT THEIR DECISION IN BEHALF OF THE FORMATION OF THEIR OWN PROVINCE DOES NOT IN ANY WAY AFFECT THEIR DETERMINATION TO STAND BY THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT IN DEALING WITH THOSE OTHER PROBLEMS.

THIS MEETING OF THE K.P.C.C. AMXNORXSE8% AUTHORISES THE PRESIDENT TO APPOINT A COMMITTEE TO TAKE ALL STEPS IN THIS RESPECT INCLUDING THE REPRESENTATION OF ALL MATTERS IN

FURTHERANCE OF THE ABOVE RESOLUTION TO THE AJ.CC., THE WORKING COMMITTEE, THE UNION GOVERNMENT AND TO THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AT THE EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY."

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Constituent Assembly of
India, Publicity.
Previous References.
Later References.
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SRE. NO.
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TO.
DATE
2.
Shri Rajgopalacharia.
Dr. R.P.
6-2-47.
3.
SPECIAL RADIO-DOCUMENTARY REVIEWING THE CONSTITUENT

ASSEMBLY PROGRAMME.
22-4-47.
Dr. R.P.
4.
Secy., C.A.
5.
Shri Banshidhar Mishra. Dr. R.P.
6.
Shri H.V.R.Iengar.
H.P.
7.
28.4.47.
28-4-47.
9 9
XXX CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA, NOTIFICATION. 19-8-47.
8.
Dr. R.P.
Shri K.S.Venkataramani.
10-5-48.)
Dr. R.P.
29-4-48.)
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Shri K.S.Venkataramantini.
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Page - 14
MEMBER
INDUSTRIES
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Action has been taken
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2
Hi dear Regen Brabe
6.2.8)
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Shankat Hayat
& Murs
*Minister
I feel you should

Page - 15
46157
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
22.4.47
favour
For favour of
publication.
Special Radio-Documentary Reviewing the
Constituent Assembly Programme
0
3
1. On the 27th April, 1947, from 8.30 to 9 P.M. All India Radio, Delhi, will broadcast a radio-documentary on the work so far done in the first two sessions of the Constituent Assembly of India.
The documentary will contain recorded excerpts of speeches made during some of the important debates in the Assembly including recorded extracts from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's historic speech on the Objectives Resolution.
The programme will be presented by Melville De Mellow, already known to listeners for his eye-witness descriptions of the opening of the Constituent Assembly, the Asian Relations Conference and the Indian Science Congress. The Constituent Assembly broadcast will be radiated on 338.6, 60.48, 41.02, 25.36, 31.30, 48.47, 41.44, 25.27 and 41.15 meters.
2. With effect from the 4th May, A.I.R. Delhi will also be broadcasting a weekly review of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. This item will be on the air every Sunday morning at 8.30 A.M. on 338.6, 41.15, 31.02 and 25.36 meters. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, herself a member of the Constituent Assembly, will inaugurate this series of Weekly Reviews.
G/22.4.47
400 copies.

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Secvary (16)
Cush tweet analy
Dear sir,
Kindly
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reach
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the hands of the Prendet
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177
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28.4.47
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Mis is a complaint from die Algu Rai Sastri that
infranding of the Assuully have not been supplied to
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the makes in Hindustain and wen
девичий
the spucks tehoud
in Hundestani have been publishes in the reports in their
the makes certain suggestien fer
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timely pontilication of proundies in Hundastam. Mis
should be conserned.
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h
Talk with the Hürth manker and explain in position

He wants to bring this toning gluttons- disse.
it will not be numery.
J
Rajmica
28/4

Page - 18
आवश्यक
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अध्यक्ष महोदय,
28.4.47
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5
इस वधिान परषित की जो कार्यवाही
हम लोगों के पास छप कर पहुंची है, वह
अंग्रेजी में ही है। हमारे हनि्दुस्तानी के
भाषणों का भी अंग्रेजी में अनुवाद ही
हमें छप कर मलिा है, अंधपरिपोर्टरों ने
हनि्दुस्तानी भाषण की रपिोर्ट हनि्दुस्तानी
में
हम लोगों शे दी थीं और हमने उनका
संशोधन भी कयिा था।
हनि्दुस्तानी के प्रतयिह उदासीनता
बहुत दयनीय है।
मैं चाहता हूँ कधिूल मुझे ग्राफ
कृपा कर इस बात के लयि मौका देंड्रि
1
मैं परषित् में आप से करूँ
सेफ
रि१, धार्यवाही हनि्दुस्तानी में भी छापी
जाया
(3) एजेण्डा हनि्दुस्तानी में भी प्रशाशन
हो ।
३, जो कुछ कार्य काही यहां होती है
यदविह प्रकाशनार्थ समाचार पत्रों में
जाय-रेडयिो से ब्राडकास्ट भी जाय
या कसिी प्रकार इस उजेली के खर्चे पर

छापी जाय तो उसमें संभव पूरा
हो - ऐसा
6
वविरण छापने भी व्यवस्था
न हो कि सिम्पार हातापों या प्रकाशन
के लिये जमिदिार कुछ कक्तियों की

68
19
इच्छा पर यह नरि्भर हो कि
वह जोह
छापें जो पाहें छोड़ दें। स्वयं से कुटी
करने
या इस कार्य केलिये नियुक्त श्री गयी कोई
वशिेष प्रकाशन-समतिि" नविरण तयार पा
प्रकाशनार्थ जारी करे।
घडी कृपा
होगी यदि आप में तीनों
जवतें के मूल रहने की आज्ञा और
जर
मुझे
दें गे।
२८.४.
8.89
आप
अलग| रामशास्त्री

श्री श्रव महोदय,
9
वधिान परषिद दलि्ली
श्रीमान,
इस परषित् की कार्यवाही जो कपी है, वह
जगरे जरी में छप कर हम तक पहुंची है। हनि्दुस्तानी के कोई
कार्यवाही छपवा हम तक नही पहुंची है। वे भाषण
जो हनि्दुस्तानी में हुये थे, बोरी में अनुवाद करे के

बपकर हमारे पास भेजे गये हैं।
एजेण्डा बी में है छपका बटता है,
हनि्दुस्तानी में नहीं। हममे से कुछ बात ऐसे है, बे
जर्मन भाषा का बात दलिकुल नहीं
रखते है।
मेरा आपसे वनिीत
नविेदन है कि
परषित की कार्यवाही और जे
हनि्दुस्तान मे
भी छाप क्या
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Page - 21
C
C. 19
PRESIO T. CONSTITUENT
i
Y GF INDIA.
Rec. 29 APR 1947
No.....
266/47
POA
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
10
With reference to the papers below,
1
I spoke to Mr. Algu Rai Sastri and explained to him that the delay in publishing the Hindustani version of the proceedings is due to the fact that we were not able till recently to get the full complement of Translators required. In particular, we had found great difficulty in recruiting a Chief Translator, and the post has only just been filled up. Mr. Sastri appreciated the point but said that it would satisfy several members of the House if he were allowed to ask

the question and the President gave a reply in
the above terms.
H. P.
(H.V.R.Iengar)
28-4-47.
The fount was raised by
shere Algurai je and
a
reply given
to her by the President during and
last sething selling of the C.A. There
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may be filed here an
Chakradhar
Chakradhar
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Page - 22
#25
Hon'ble
Dr. Rajendra Prasad.
President, Constutuent Assembly.
10
New Bengal Association.
27-B Chittaranjan Avenue.
Calcutta 13.
February 25, 1948.
3
Re: Rehabilitation & Re-settlement of Evacuees
from Eastern Pakistan in West Bengal.
Dear Sir,
I am directed by my Working Committee to submit to you
a memorandum drawn up by the New Bengal Association together with
the resolutions passed at a conference held under its auspices on
the 24th and 25th of January 1948 in which about 350 representati-
-ves from the Bengali speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa and 815
delegtes from different parts of West Bengal attended.

The New Bengal Association in presenting its claim on
behalf of West Bengal most fervently request you and your Govern-
ment to take necessary action to have the matter settled in a
peaceful manner as early as possible. My Committee depends on the
various statements made by you and some of your colleagues assuring
the citizens of free India that the provinces will be redistributed
on linguistic and cultural basis.
The problem of Rehabilitation and re-settlement of the
vast bodies of Evacuees from Fastern Pakistan can in no way be
tackled unless the Bengali speaking areas adjoining West Bengal
are made over to her without delay.
I hope you and your Government will do justice to
Bengal and earn the gratitude of this province which is not
capable of maintaining her integrity and economy unless she
gets back her own lands in Bihar and Orissa.
Then. 7
Yours Faithfully,
S.R. Languly
President.

Page - 23
th (23
All Invia League of Linguistic Provinces,
President:
Gen
Fe. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI,
M. A., Ph. D., F. R. A. S. B.
Secretaries :
G. V. SUBBA RAO, (BEZWADA) &
N. C. NARASIMHA ACHARYA, (BOMBAY.)
BEZWADA,
11-3-1948
of
My car Dr. Rajendra Babu,
im
g
& find there is a good deal disentent
Growing vomm against-time Nehru Declaration and

the Draft Constitution in respect of the provision
made for linguistic provinces. My own view
is, that, so far as the Auchra province
cerques, it is necessary to take activ
petition of nem Prakam, Kanga and others
for a Governor. General's order under Set 290,
which has been pending with the Government
of eroin. Somn the Drafting Committed has
recommended such a course; but it is no
good our re-opening the nehru Declaration.
and asking the Auchras to select themselves
an enquiry arch.
ع م ل
4
As regards the other provinces, personally-
speaking, & feel that even for much provinen
like Karnataka and Maharashtra, no much.
enquiry into their fitness, feasibility and ne-
cessity, is needed. Zon mihlt remember what
the vihr Report of (Motilal) of 1928 wrot
about Karnataka. Thus, it said: " on our
opinion, a strong prima faciecan for uni-
fication and the formation of Karnataka
separate provines was made.
the position of in Karnataka.
wan
as a
Frinancity,
very stronge
As a result; the All party Conference, zu know,
recommented in Andhra and Karnataka pro-

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even on 30.8-428. But, it zo
im Government of dendek w. be made anxious
for any preliminary enquiries we may not
object to zom mino; and I have always been
mggesting that men an inquiry and not
mait till the Consambly meets; but, & think.
that zu may entrust the same immediately
to the Linguistic provinces hut. Committee of
which Dr. Pattabhi is the chairman. The same
Committer
my vein, might also examine
in ean of Kerala; in future of cities like
Delhi, Buhay and Madras; the questio
of the newly merges States livritories; the main
principles for
healthy and natumal Bonn-
daries delimitatione; and the rights of lingui-
tie minorities in the new proviver or States.
And I see absolutely no point in wasting
further time till the Consambly sessim and
his content,
living rise to a
good deal of avoidable
confiring
unrest and agitation. I pray that zu
this matter your carnest
Im
a
день
will kindly
consideration.
I must-
zen.
health is
With Kindest Regards,
zum einenalyn,.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, G. V. Subbakan
President,
Constituent Assembl
Camp Sevagram.

Page - 25
ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE
Shri B.P. Poddar,
Hony. Secretary,
Marwari Association,
160A, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta.
1325
Bajajwadi, Wardha, 14
8th April 148.
Dear Sir,
I have received your letter dated 15th March.
I agree with you that there is an urgent need amongst
all of us of thinking and acting as Indians rather than
as belonging to any particular province or group or commu-
becomes general
nity. When this kind of feeling is genuine a strong na-
Growing provincialism
tionalism would be established.
to which you refer, arises from two factors. One is the
natural desire of the people to see that those with whom
their relations are the most intimate and who are close
to them, grow and prosper. The other factor is the atti-
tude and behaviour of those who belong to a different
part of the country but have settled down or are carrying
on business or have accepted jobs in another province.
Very often people of this class do not wholly identify
themselves with the provincial people and that creates
resentment which manifests itself in the form of provin-
cialism. The natural desire of the people of a province
to grow can be reconciled with an all India outlook and it
is possible to so arrange the things. The people of your
province, while doing all that is necessary for themselves,

should.
would not neglect their duty and responsibility towards
the country as a whole. The idea of having linguistic pro-
vinces is based on this belief and it is hoped by those
who are promoting the creation of linguistic states, that
in course of time their province would make its own contri-
bution to the growth of the country another
The attitude of
one province
those who have come from that province needs revision.
is the common experience that if a man is in a position
It

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-2-
amongst whom
to help others he very often thinks of the people from where
he has come and not so much of the people amongst whom he is
working and this creates the impression that he is an outsider
and not of the people amongst whom he is working. It is
unnecessary to eite instances to show that this is constantly
happening. As has often been pointed out by all those who
are interested in this question, the only solution is for
all such people to identify themselves entirely with the
new surrounding and give preference to the people among whom
from
they work rather than to the people of the place/where they
have come. If this is done, I feel, их* much of the bitterness
will disappear. I am writing this to you so that you may
consider this aspect and help in remedying provincialism
and communalism which we all deplore.
Yours sincerely,
по
(Rajendra Prasad)
PRESIDENT

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
NOTIFICATION
New Delhi, the 19th August 1947.
277
No. CA. 12/47-Cons. The following is published for general information:-
WHEREAS difficulties have arisen in respect of the decision of doubts and disputes as to elections of representatives of Indian States to the Constituent Assembly of India and in respect of certain other matters for which no provision has been made in the Constituent Assembly Rules:
NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provisions for the purpose of removing the said difficulties and directs that the said provisions (with the exception of provision No. III) shall be deemed to have effect on and from the April 24, 1947:-
11
PROVISIONS
I. In rule 51 of the said Rules-
(a) after clause (a) the following clause shall be inserted namely:-
"(aa) "representative" of any Indian State or States means the person who is chosen as a representative of such State or States in the Assembly in accordance with the provisions contained in the Schedule to these Rules";
(b) to clause (b) the following shall be added, namely:-
"and includes a candidate whose name has been reported by or on behalf of the Ruler or Rulers of any Indian State or States to the President in the manner provided in the Schedule to these rules as a duly chosen representative of such State or States."
II. (a) In clause (i) of sub-rule (1) of rule 53 of the said Rules, for the words "in the case of the first elections to the Assembly" the words "in the case of elections to the Assembly held before the publication of these Rules" shall be substituted.
(b) In clause (ii) of sub-rule (1) of rule 53 of the said Rules for the words "in the appropriate Official Gazette" the words "in the Gazette of India or in the Official Gazette of the Province concerned" shall be substituted.
III. In sub-rule (1) of rule 60 of the said Rules, after the words "Indian

Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules" the words and figures "as in force on the 1st day of August, 1947" shall be inserted.

IV. To Rule 61 of the said Rules the following shall be added, namely:-

"and the orders so issued shall be final and shall not be questioned in any Court."

V. After rule 66 of the said Rules, the following shall be inserted as rule 67, namely:-

-

"67. If any question arises as to the interpretation of these Rules otherwise than in connection with an election enquiry held thereunder, the question shall be referred for the decision of the President and his decision shall be final."

VI. At the end of the said Rules the following Schedule shall be added, namely:-

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"THE SCHEDULE

(See rule 51)

1. The seats allotted to Indian States in the Statement shall be uocated among the various States and Groups of States as in Annexure A, generally on the basis of one seat for one million of the population, fractions of three-fourths or more being counted as one and lesser fractions being ignored in the case of individual States, and fractions of more than half being counted as one and lesser fractions being ignored in the case of groups of States.

2. The States which so desire may pool or share their proportion of allotted representation, whether individual or grouped, with that of any other State or group of States by mutual agreement, provided:-

(a) that the total representation of the States and/or the groups affected is not disturbed, and

(b) that geographic proximity, economic considerations, and ethnic, cultural and linguistic affinity are duly kept in view.

(3) Not less than 50 per cent. of the total representatives of the States in the Assembly shall be elected by the elected members of the States' legislatures, or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by

the Rulers of the States concerned. The States shall endeavour to increase the quota of elected representatives as much above 50 per cent. of the total number as possible. Accordingly at least one half of the number of seats allotted to any State or group of States shall be filled by election in accordance with the provisions made in that behalf by the Ruler of the State or States concerned.

4. The Conveners in respect of the various groups of States specified in column 1 of the Annexure A shall be the rulers specified in the corresponding entries in column 4 of that Annexure. The Secretary may in consultation with the States in the group make any such changes in the said column 4 as he may deem necessary or desirable.

5. On the completion of the election or nomination, as the case may be, the Ruler of the State concerned shall make a notification as far as may be in the following form* stating the name or names of the person or persons elected or nominated as representative or representatives in the Constituent Assembly and cause it to be communicated to the President of the Constituent Assmebly. Where the selection has been made by a group of States, this notification shall be made by the convenor for that group.

99

*FORM

BE IT HEREBY KNOWN THAT [here enter the name of the representative(s)]... ..has/have been duly chosen as (a) representative(s) of [here enter the name(s) of the State(s)].

in the Constituent Assembly of India. In testimony whereof this notification is issued under my signature and the seal of my State.

State

States

Date..

Ruler of

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ANNEXURE A

Single States

Dion as shown in the Table of Seats appended to Part II of the First Schedule to the Govt. of India Act, 1935

1	Name of State	Number of seats in the Consti-tuent As-sembly	Convener
II	Hyderabad	XII	
III	Mysore	XIV	
IV	Kashmir	XIV	
	Gwalior	XVI	
	Baroda	1	
	Travancore		
	Cochin	2	
	Udaipur		
	Jaipur		
	Jodhpur		
	Bikaner		
	Alwar		
	Kotah		
	Indore		

Bhopal
Rewa
Kolhapur
Patiala
Bahawalpur
Mayurbhanj
20
Frontier Groups
2
3
16
674436
-6
3
1
1
1
1
2
2
1
1
60
3
4
VII
Sikkim
XV
Cooch Behar
XV
Tripura
XV
Manipur
Ruler of :-
1
Cooch
Behar
State.
1

Tripura State
XVII
Khasi States
Interior Groups
VIII
Rampur
1
Rampur State
X .
(13 States)
XI
Benares
Bharatpur
Tonk
Dholpur
Karauli
Bundi
Sirohi
Dungarpur
Banswara
Partabgarh
Jhalawar
Jaisalmer
Kishengarh
Shahpura
3
Bundi State

XI
1
2
Datia
Orchha
Dhar
Dewas (Senior)
Dewas (Junior)
Jaora

Ratlam
Panna
(26 States)
Samthar
Ajaigarh
Bijawar
Charkhari
Chhatarpur
Baoni
Nagod
Maihar
Baraund ha
Barwani
Ali Rajpur
Jhabua
Sailana
Sitamau
Rajgarh
Narsingarh
Khilchipur
XVII
XII
Kurwai
Cutch
Idar
Nawanagar
30
4 AA
3
15
3
Panna State
(17 States)
XII-A
Bhavnagar
Junagadh
Dhrangadhra
Gondal
Porbandar

Morvi
Radhanpur
Wankaner
Palitana
Dhrol
Limbdi
Wadhwan
Rajkot
Jafrabad
Rajpipla
Nawanagar
State.
Palanpur
(14 States)
Cambay
Dharampur
Balasinor
Baria
Chhota Udepur
Sant
Lunawada
Bansda.
Sachin
Jawhar
XIII
XIII
(17 States)
Danta
Janjira
Sangli
Savantvadi
Mudhol
Bhor
Jamkhandi
Miraj (Senior)
Miraj (Junior)
Kurundwad (Senior)
Kurundwad (Junior)
Akalkot

Phaltan
2
Rajpipla State
21
Miraj (Junior)
State.

Page - 31
IX
XIV
(14 States)
Jath
Aundh
Ramdurg
Pudukkottai
Banganapallee
Sandur
Kapurthala
Jind
Nabha
Mandi
Bilaspur
Suket
Tehri-Garhwal
Sirmur
Chamba
Faridkot
Malerkotla
*Loharu
XVII
XVI
Kalsia
Bashahr
Sonepur
Patna
Kalahandi
Keonjhar
Dhenkanal

Nayagarh
Talcher
Nilgiri
Gangpur
Bamra
O
(25 States)
XVII
Seraikela
Baud
Bonai
Athgarh
Pal Lahara
Athmalik
Hindol
Narsingpur
Baramba
Tigiria
Khandpara
Ranpur
Daspalla
Rairakhol
Kharsawan
XVI-A
Bastar
Surguja
(14 States)
XVII
Raigarh
Nandgaon
Khairagarh
Jashpur
Kanker
Korea
Sarangarh
Changbhakar
Chhuikadan
Kawardha
Sakti

e
o
Udaipur
XVII
All other States
2
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5
(3)
31 15
3
4
3
Bilaspur State
Baud State
3
Baud State
Baghat State
29
* By special arrangement Loharu is represented by the representative of Bikaner State.
GIPD-L104CA-18-9-57-1,000.
By order,
H. V. R. IENGAR, Secy.

Page - 32
K. S. VENKATARAMANI, M.A., B.L.
AUTHOR OF
PAPER BOATS, MURUGAN, THE TILLER' ETC.
22
H.
BHARATA MANI
=18-
13
SVETARANYA ASHRAMA'
KAVERIPOOMPATNAM P.O.
(TANJORE DT.)
29.4.48.

Dear & revered Dr Rajendra Prasad,
adding byour
I am.
аддий
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But in
India, it ishall be
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I have also written toda to
Pandit gwaharlal Nehru.

Page - 34
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16
New Delhi,
May 10, 1948.
My dear Shri Venkat Ramani,
Thank you very much for your
article on the draft constitution, a
copy of which you have been good enough
to send me. I have passed it on to our
Constitutional Adviser for considera-
tion. As you may be interested in my
opinion, I an enclosing a copy of the
letter which I have addressed to him.
Yours sincerely,
(Rajendra Prasad)
Shri K.S. Venkataramani,
Svetaranya Ashrama,
Kaveripoompatnam, P.0.
Tanjore District,
S.I.

Page - 35
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H
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
7/7/40
Council House,
10
•
New Delhi, the 29th June, 1948.
PRESS COMMUNIQUE.
The following press note has been issued from the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India:-
The Urdu Committee of the Draft Constitution of India met the Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly of India, on the 23rd June 1948 and presented to him a copy of the Urdu version of the Draft which they had prepared. The members of the Committee explained that their objective has been to prepare a translation that would be intelligible to the layman and at the same time to see that it is a faithful and accurate rendering of the English text.
In doing so the Committee have purposely deviated from the old style of Drafting Acts and legal documents in a language familiar only to lawyers and judges and have used the spoken idioms. In their choice of technical terms they have maintained a uniform standard of selecting words current in law courts and used in common parlance so that there will be no difficulty in interpretation. A glossary of technical terms has been appended to the translation.
The Urdu version of the Draft Constitution is a priced publication.
AVT/25 copies.
29.6.1948.
---:00: --
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16/7.
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
PRESS NOTE.
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2
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Note:-

This Secretariat has received, and continues to receive, several requests that the Draft Constitution of India should be translated into and made available in all the Indian languages.

Certain private individuals who have already prepared translations have asked for official recognition for their publication. The Constituent Assembly Rules of Procedure, as they stand at present, only require that the official records of the proceedings of the Assembly shall be kept in Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) and English. On the same principle, arrangements have so far been made to translate the English Draft of the new Constitution into Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu). This Secretariat has no staff for checking translations into any other language and is therefore not in a position to give official recognition to any such translation by any out side agency.

New Delhi
July 16, 1948.

Page - 37
Juli
37
-22-
21
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
2
E 19
Council House,
HP.16

12
New Delhi, the 13th October, 1948.
PRESS NOTE.
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly
has made the following announcements:-
1. The Drafting Committee will commence its
sittings from Saturday, October 16, in New Delhi
to consider the amendments to the Draft Constitution
so far received.
2. The next meeting of the Steering
Committee has been fixed for 10 a.m. on Monday,
October 25, to consider the Order of Business for
Constituent Assembly
the ensuing session of the
commencing on November 4, 1948.

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38
-23-
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
NOTIFICATIONS
New Delhi, the 2nd August 1948
131
22
No.CA/43/Ser/48-I.-WHEREAS in view of the changes that have recently
taken place in the constitutional and administrative position of
a very large
number of Indian States, difficulties have arisen in the carrying out of the Constituent Assembly Rules in respect of the seats allotted to the Indian States in the Assembly:
NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the
said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provisions for the purpose of
removing
the said difficulties :-
I. For rules 5-A and 5-B of the said rules, the following rule shall be substituted: -
in

5-A. When a vacancy occurs by reason of death, resignation or otherwise in the office of a member of the Assembly representing an Indian State or more than one Indian State specified in column 1 of the Annexure to the Schedule to these rules, the President shall notify the vacancy and make a request writing to the authority specified in the corresponding entry in column 3 of that Annexure to proceed to fill the vacancy as soon as may reasonably be practicable
by election or by nomination, as the case may be, in the case of the States specified in Part I of the said Annexure, and by election in the case of the States specified in part II of that Annexure:
Provided that in the case of the States specified in Part I of the said Annexure. where the seat was filled previously by nomination, the vacancy may be filled by election:
AU
Provided further that in making a request to fill a vacancy by election under this rule the President may also request that the election be completed within such time as may be specified by him."
II. For clause (b) of rule 51 of the said rules, the following clause shall be substituted:-
-
(b) 'Returned candidate' means a candidate whose name has been published in the appropriate Official Gazette as a duly elected member of the Assembly and includes a candidate whose name has been reported to the President in the manner provided in paragraph 5 of the Schedule to these rules as a duly chosen representative of any Indian State or States specified in column 1 of the Annexure to that Schedule."
III. In the Schedule to the said rules:-
(a) for paragraphs 3, 4, 5 and 6, the following paragraphs shall be substituted:
"3. (1) When the representation allotted to the States, individual or grouped. in the Assembly, or the grouping of the States for the purpose of such representation is altered by an order made under naragraph 2. or by an amendment of the Annexure to this Schedule, the President may. by order-
(a) re-assign members representing a State or States to such State or States as may be specified in the order;
(b) declare the seat or seats of any member or members of the Assembly representing any State or States affected by an order under paragraph 2 or an amendment of the Annexure to this Schedule, as the case may be, to be vacant.
(2) Any member who has been re-assigned to a State or States by an order

made under clause (a) of sub-paragraph (1) and whose seat has not been declared vacant under clause (b) of that sub-paragraph shall as from the date of

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the
order be deemed to be a duly chosen representative of such State or States.
if
(3) A member whose seat is declared vacant by an order made under clause (b) cf sub-paragraph (1) shall, if it is so specified in the order, continue to hold office as member of the Assembly until his successor has been duly elected and has taken his seat in the Assembly.
4. (1) Ne less than fifty per cent of the total representatives of the States specified in column 1 of Part I of the Annexure to this Schedule in the Assembly shall be elected by the elected members of the legislatures of the States concerned. or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by the authorities specified in the correspond.ng entries in column 3 of that Part.
(2) All vacancies in the seats in the Assembly allotted to the States specified in column 1 of Part II of the Annexure to this Schedule shall be filled by election and the representatives of such States to be chosen to fill such seats shall be elected by the elected members of the legislatu es of the States concerned, or where such legislatures do not exist, by the members of electoral colleges constituted in accordance with the provisions made in this behalf by the authorities specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Part.
5. On the completion of the election or nomination, as the case may be, of the representative or representatives of any State or States specified in column 1 of the Annexure to this Schedule in the Constituent Assembly, the authority mentioned in the corresponding entry in column 3 of that Annexure shall make a notification under his signature and the seal of his office stating the name names of the person or persons so elected or nominated and cause it to be communicated to the President of the Assembly".
New Delhi, the 3rd August 1948
E

or
No. CA/43/Ser/48-II.-WHEREAS in view of the changes that have recently taken place in the constitutional and administrative position of a very large number of Indian States, difficulties have arisen in the carrying out of the Constituent Assembly Rules in respect of the seats allotted to the Indian States in the Assembly:
NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by rule 66 of the said Rules and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following provision for the purpose of removing the said difficulties:-
For the Annexure to the Schedule to the said Rules, the following Annexure shall be substituted: -
Name of State or States
Jaubizibni
ANNEXURE
PART Iisa
Number of seats
allotted in the Con-
ot stituent Assembly
akubado? tad of ozonA
Authority for the purpose of
the choosing of representatives
in the Constituent Assembly
1
2
3
HYDERABAD
16
Ruler of Hyderabad.
ed your ag
MYSORE
KASHMIR
7
Ruler of Mysore. colab (d)
4
Ruler of Kashmir.
BARODA
3
Ruler of Baroda.

TRAVANCORE
sodw bag (1) 6 Ruler of Travancore.
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1
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3
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18
3
COCHIN
JODHPUR
JAIPUR
BIKANER
1
Ruler of Cochin.
2
Ruler of Jodhpur.
3
Ruler of Jaipur.
1
Ruler of Bikaner.
BHOPAL
1
Ruler of Bhopal.
KOLHAPUR.
1
Ruler of Kolhapur.
MAYURBHANJ
1
Ruler of Mayurbhanj.
and
SIKKIM
SIKKIM COOCH BEHAR
1
Ruler of Cooch Behar.

TRIPURA
MANIPUR
1
Ruler of Tripura.
KHASI STATES
RAMPUR
BENARES
:}
1
Ruler of Rampur.
ORISSA STATES:
Athgarh
Athmalik
Bamra
Baramba.
Baudh
Bonai
Daspalla
Dhenkanal
Gangpur
Hindol
Kalahandi
(23) Keonjhar
Khandpara
Narsinghpur
Nayagarh
Nilgiri
Pal Lahara
Patna
Rairakhol
Ranpur
Sonepur
Talcher
49
PART II
4
Governor of Orissa.
Tigiria
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR STATES:

Bastar
Changhbhakar
Chhuikadan
Jashpur
Kanker
.
Kawardha
(15) Khairagarh
Korea
Nandgaon
Raigarh
Sakti
Sarangarh
Surguja
Udaipur
Makrai
•
3
Governor of Central Provinces
and Berar.

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1
MADRAS STATES:
Banganapalle
Pudukkottai
BOMBAY STATES:
Rajpipla
Palanpur
Cambay
Dharampur
Balasinor
Baria
Chhota Udepur
Sant
Lunawada
Bansda

Sachin
Jawhar
Danta
Janjira
Sangli
Savantvadi
Mudhol
35)Bhor
Jamkhandi
Miraj (Sr.)
Miraj (Jr.)
Kurundwad (Sr.)
Kurundwad (Jr.)
Akalkot
Phaltan
Jath
Aundh
Ramdrug
Idar
Radhanpur
Sirohi
Savanur
41
Wadi
Vijayanagar
Jambughoda
271 minor states, (thanas, etc.)
HIMACHAL PRADESH:
Bashahr
Sirmur
Chamba
0
Mandi
Suket
Baghal
Baghat
Balsan
Bhajji
21) Bija.

Darkoti
Dhami
Jubbal
Keonthal
Kumharsain
Kunihar
Kuthar
Mahlog
Mangal
Sangri
Tharoach
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1
Governor of Madras
1
Governor of Bombay.
Chief Commissioner of Himachal
Pradesh.

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5
UNI STATE OF KATHIAWAR
(SARASHTRA).
2
2642)
3
Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF MATSYA
2
Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF RAJASTHAN

4
UNITED STATE OF VINDHYA PRADESH.
Rajpramukh of the State.
Rajpramukh of the State.
UNITED STATE OF GWALIOR-INDORE-MALWA (MADHYA BHARAT).
7
Rajpramukh of the State.
PATIALA AND EAST PUNJAB STATES UNION.
3
Rajpramukh of the Union.
CUTCH.
JUNAGADH .
RESIDUARY STATES:
Jaisalmer
Sandur
Tehri-Garhwal
Bilaspur .
BIHAR STATES:
Seraikela.
Kharsavan
EAST PUNJAB STATES:
Loharu
Pataudi
Dujana
1
1
1
40
GRAND TOTAL OF Parts I and II
89
Chief Commissioner of Cutch.
Administrator of Junagadh.
Such authority as may be appointed by the Government of India.

To New Delhi, the 4th August 1948

No. CA/43/Ser/48-III.-WHEREAS the representation in the Constituent Assembly allotted to certain Indian States (individual or grouped) and the grouping of certain Indian States for the purpose of such representation have been altered by an amendment of the Annexure to the Schedule to the Constituent Assembly Rules by provision made in that behalf under rule 66 of the said Rules and published under notification No. CA/43/Ser/48-II, dated 3rd August, 1948:

NOW, THEREFORE, in exercise of the power conferred by paragraph 3 of the Schedule to the said Rules as amended under notification No. CA/43/Ser/48-1, dated 2nd August, 1948, and of all other powers enabling him in that behalf, the President of the Assembly hereby makes the following order: -

1. The members of the Constituent Assembly named in column 1 of the First Schedule annexed to this order representing the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 2 of that Schedule are hereby re-assigned to the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Schedule.

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2. The seats of the members of the Constituent Assembly named in column 1 of the Second Schedule annexed to this order who originally represented the State or States specified in the corresponding entries in column 2 01 Schedule and have been re-assigned to the State specified in the corresponding entries in column 3 of that Schedule are hereby declared vacant.

hat

Name of Member

1

FIRST

SCHEDULE

State or States originally represented

State or States to which re-assigned

2

3
Shri N. Madhava Rau
Rai Bahadur Lala Raj Kanwar
Shri Sarangdhar Das
Shri Yudhishtir Mishra
Shri Kishorimohan Tripathi
Shri Ramprasad Potai
Khan Bahadur F.
Kothawala
Shri Vinayak Rao B. Vaidya
Shri B. N. Munavalli
Shri Gokulbhai Daulatram Bhatt.
Shri Balwantrai Gopalji Mehta
Shri Jai Sukh Lal Hathi
Eastern States Group I, of Orissa States.
which the Ruler of Baud
State was the convener.
Eastern States Group II, of
which the Ruler of Baud
State was the convener.
Gujerat States Group, of
which the Ruler of Raj-
pipla State was the con-
vener.
Deccan and Madras Sta-
tes Group, of which the
Ruler of Miraj (Junior)
State was the convener.
Eastern Rajputana Sta-
tes Group, of which the
Ruler of Bundi State
was the convener
Residuary States Group,
of which the Ruler of
Baghat State was the
convener.
}
Central Provinces and
Berar States.

Bombay States.
United
State
of Ka.
thiawar (Saurashtra).
120
Shri V. S. Sarwate
Indore
Lt. Col. Brijraj Narain
Shri Gopikrishna Vijayavargiyad
Gwalior
Shri Ram Sahai
Sardar Jaidev Singh
Patiala
Shri Bhawanji Arjan Khimji as Western
India States
Group, of which the Ru-
ler of Nawanagar State
was the convener.
Lt. Col. Kr. Dalel Singhji
Kotah
United State of Gwa-
lior Indore-Malwa
(Madhya Bharat).
Patiala
and
East
Punjab States Union.
Cutch.
United
Rajasthan.
State
of

29-
Name of Members
7

State or States originally represented
44
State to which assigned
1
Dr. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi
Shri Manikya Lal Varma
}
Udaipur
Maharaj Mandhata Singh
Shri Baldeo Swarup
}
Raja Lal Shiv Bahadur
2
3
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28
Eastern Rajputana States Group, of which the Ruler of Bundi State was the convener.
United State of Rajasthan.
Singh Rao of Churhat
Shri Lal Yadavendra Singh
Major Maharajkumar Pushpendra
a Singhji
Ro Raja Jayendra Singh Ju Deo
Pandit Chaturbhuj Pathak
Kunwar Shamsher Jung
Rewa
-Central India States
Group of which the Ruler of Panna State was the convener.
Residuary States Group,

of which the Ruler of
Baghat State was the
convener.
SECOND SCHEDULE
United State of Vin-
dhya Pradesh.
J
Kotah
}
Udaipur
United
State of Raj-
}
Eastern Rajputana Sta-
tes, Group, of which the
asthan.
Lt. Col. Kr. Dalel Singhi
Dr. Sir S. V. Ramamurthi
Shri Manikya Lal Verma
Maharaj Mandhata Singh
Shri Baldeo Swarup
Ruler of Bundi State
was the convener.
Raja Lal Shiv Bahadur
Singh Rao of Churhat
Shri Lal Yadvendra Singh
Major
Singhji
Maharajkumar Pushpendra'
Rao Raja Jayendra Singh Ju Deo
Pandit Chaturbhuj Pathak
Kanwar Shamsher Jung
}
Rewa
Central India States
Group, of which the Ru-
ler of Panna State was
the convener.
Residuary States Group,

of which the Ruler of
Baghat State was the
convener.
United State of Vin-
dhya Pradesh.
GIPD-L32-34CA-11-8-48-750.
By order,
S. N. MUKERJEE, Joint Secy.

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CONSTITUINT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
PRESS NOTE
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The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has
issued the following press note:-
In view of the fact that several Hindi and Urdu translations
have been made of the Draft Constitution of India, the Hon'ble the
President of the Constituent Assembly has appointed a Committee
of Experts for the purpose of preparing a translation which will
as far as possible be precise and easily understandable by the
common man. The Committee will consist of
--
(1) The Hon'ble Shri Ghanshyamsingh Gupta,
Speaker,
C.F. & Berar Legislative Assembly,
Nagpur.
(2) Shri Rahul Sankrityayan,
Hindi Sahitya Sammelan,
Allahabad.
(3) Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji,
Calcutta University,
Calcutta.

(4) Frof. M. Mujeeb,
Jamia Millia Islamia
Delhi.
(5) Shri M. Satyanarayana,
Member, Constituent Assembly of India.
(6) Prof. Jaychandra Vidyalankar,
Bharatiya Itihas Parisad,
Banaras.
(7) Shri Yashwant R. Date, B.A., LL.B.,
Poona.
Chairman
Members
Prof. Balkrishna, Research Officer of the Constituent Assembly of India Secretariat, will act as Secretary of the Committe.
New Delhi,
April 9, 1949.

Page - 46
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CONSTITUENT ASSELBLY OF INDIA
31-
15
PRESS NOTE
Council House
New Delhi, the 14th April, 1949.
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Note:-
In accordance with the resolution of the Constituent Assembly of India of January 8, 1949, the next session of the Assembly will commence on Monday, May 16, 1049.
SHARMA
14-4-49/25 copies.
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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
Council House,
16
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New Delhi, the...22nd..Aprils..1949.
PRESS HOTE.
The following press note has been issued
by the Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly
of India:-
The next meeting of the Advisory Committee
on Minorities, Fundamental Rights, etc., will
be held on Wednesday the 11th May, 1949, at
9.30 A.M. in the Council of State Chamber,
Council House, New Delhi.
P.S. 15 H.P.
No. 1 Que Videonnie Road
AVI/-
New Delhi.

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ан
19.
AVT/-
48
-33-
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
12
Council House,
New Delhi, the.....16th May, 1949.
PRESS NOTE.
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly
of India has issued the following Press Note:-

In accordance with the decision taken at
the meeting of the Constituent Assembly today,
the Assembly will, with effect from tomorrow, the
17th May, 1949, sit from 8 a.m. to 12 noon.
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Page - 49
19
49 3433
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
25
18
Council House,
New Delhi, the. 25th..June,..1949.
PRESS COMMUNIQUE.
The Secretariat of the Constituent
Assembly of India has issued the following
Press Communique:
The Hon'ble the President of the
Constituent Assembly of India has fixed
8 a.B. on Saturday, July 30, 1949, for the
commencement of the next session of the
Constituent Assembly.
New Delhi,
June 25, 1949.

Page - 50
TELEGRAM:-"TRACOMIN"
TELEPHONE B.B.6468
Marwari Association
42,
No.1222/48.
+4 60
50
The President,
Indian National Congress,

New Delhi.
Caleutta
(ESTD 1898)
Bande Mataram.
15
13
1604 Chittaranjan Avenue
Dated March 15,
5
19 48.
D
Dear Sir,
I beg respect fully to draw your kind attention to the growing provincialism discernible in various parts of the country, and to say that unless the feeling is subdued in time, it will exercise its baneful in flu--ence and result in weakening our solidarity.
I believe you are aware of various bickerings and antagonism that have had their outward manifestations in the past in Behar, Orissa, Bengal, and Assam. The atmosphere appears to be superficially calm at moment but people living in provinces other than their own do feel, now then, that they are not treated as equals either in making appointment providing business facilities.
In the interests of the country, we should all feel proud fact that we are nationals of the Indian Union. Any other feeling i only narrow but also prejudicial to all in the long run.
I therefore request that you may be pleased to emphasiz prime and urgent need of thinking and acting as Indians rather than as Bengalis etc.
TKS/ANB.
Thanks and Jai Hind,
Yours faithful
Stellen
(B. P. PODDAR)
HONY. SECRETARY.

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All India Congress Committee
6, Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi.
18/3.
D.o. No 9061c
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To Rächtenpaly
om S.K
PATNA,
16
16. 3. 1948.
My dear Rajendra Babu,
I understand that Dr.P.N.Banerji,
President of the Indian Association has submitted
a memorandum to you as the President of the
Indian National Congress demanding that the
Boundary Commission which is proposed to be set
up for the constitution of the Indian Provinces
on linguistic and cultural basis should consider
the question of the amalgamation of the Bengali
speaking tracts of Bihar and Orissa with West
Bengal.
I shall be grateful if you kindly
let me have a copy of the said memorandum.
To
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
Yours sincerely,
S..mis
President, All India Congress Committee,
Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

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52
कै- बजावाडी, वया
सादर प्रणाम-
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17
आपका वा
मार्च का पत्र देहली होते हुए यहां
पूज्य राजेन्यू वाइ के नाम आया है ! डाबनर्जी का
नहीं, पर बंगाल की सी दूसरी संस्था से बहिार के
कुछ भागों को बंगाल में मचिाने के लयि वधिान परषिद
के सभापत के नाम एक आवेदन पत्र आया है, जसिके साथ
कई नक भी हैं। गत बार जब वनिोद वा वू देहली गये
थे, तो पूज्य राजेन्द्र वा वू ने उस पत्र को उन्हें दखिलाया
था तथा उन्होंने उससे कई बातें नोट कर ली थी । वह
स्मृतपित्र देहली में है। मैं बाज फैली को पत्र लखि रहा
हूं क उिस स्मृत पित्र को जाके पास वे मेज दें। पर,
उसकी आवश्यकता पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू को होगी । अतएव
कृपा कर स्मृत पित्र के मलि जाने पर आप उसे वापस
पूज्य रजनि्द्र बाबू के पास भजिवा देंगे ।
माननीय बाबू श्री. श्रीकृष्ण सनि्हा
प्रधान मंत्री, कपिर सरकार
पटना ।
आज्ञाकारी,
(चक्रधर शरन)

Page - 53
आपका
सादर प्रणाम
पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के
कैम्प- बजाजवाडी, वा-
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मार्च का पत्र देहली होते हुए यहाँ
नाम आया है। डा.बनर्जी का
नहीं, पर बंगाल की सी दूसरी संस्था से बहिार के

कुछ भागों को बंगाल में मलिाने के लयि वधिान परषिद
के समापत कि नाम एक आवेदन पत्र आया है, जसिके साथ
कई नये भी है। गत बार जब वनिोद बाबू देहली गये
थे, तो पूज्य राजेन्द्र वा वू ने उस पत्र को उन्हें दखिलाया
था तथा उन्होंने उससे कई बातें नोट कर ली थीं। वह
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माननीय बालू श्री.श्रीकृष्ण सनि्हा,
प्रधान मंत्री, कार सरकार
पटना ।
आज्ञाकारी,
(चक्रधर शरन)

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कैम्प : बजाज वाडी, वर्षा,
ता. २६/३/१९४८
7
प्रयि नंदकुमार,
डा. सीक का एक पत्र मेरे पास आया है
कि मैं उनकी मोटर को चीफ ट्रान्सफर आफसिर शेरशाह
छेड मेस को दे दूं। तुम या वाल्मीक चीफ ट्रान्सफर
अ. फसिर को सूचति कर दे कि वह आकर सर्वाधकि साहब की
गाडी को ले जायें। इसके पहले मोटर को किसी से साफ
बहुत दनि तक बाहर रह जाने के
सुथरा करवा लेना ।
कारण गाडी में बहुत धूल तथा गन्दगी जमा हो गयी

'होगी। उनसे एक रसीद की ले लेना ।
एक पत्र श्री बाबू का पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के
नाम आया है जसिमें वह मर्मी रान्डम चाहते हैं जो बंगाल
के लोगों ने पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के नाम बहिार के कुछ
हस्सिों को बंगाल में मलिाने के संबंध में भेजा था । कह
एक छपा हुआ लम्बा पत्र है और उसके साथ चार, पांच
वडे वडे नक्श की हैं। पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के घर में वह
पत्र था । मुझे याद नहीं कि वह
रख देने के लयि मैंने दयिा था ।
पता भी दयिा गया है 1 उस पते को नोट करके रख लेना
तथा श्री बाबू के साथवाले पत्र में लखि देना कि चूंकि
वहीं है या तुम्हारे पास
भेजनेवाले का उस खत पर
मेमोरेन्डम की एक ही प्रति है, इसलयि उसकी नकल कराकर

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25-24
59
(२)
पूज्य बाबू के पास उसे लौटा देंगे - रजस्ट्री से उस पत्र
को श्री बाबू के पास भेजा।
उस मेमोरेन्डम में जो पता दयिा है, उस पते
पर तुम अपनी ओर से लखि देना कि उस मेमोरेन्डम तथा
उसके साथवालों के नक्शों की जरुरत है । उसकी एक और
प्रति वे लोग पूज्य राजेन्द्र बाबू के पास भेज दें। सम्भव
है कि वहां से एक और प्रति आ जाय ।
तुम्हर,
श्री. नन्दकुमार सन्हिा,
१ क्वीन वक्टिोरयिा रोड,
नयी दल्लिी ।

Page - 60
26-
Pr
ent
S. K. GANGULY.
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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.
27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.
10
Dr. S. K. Ganguly's Statement.
at the Press Conference on 27.3.48.
Page I
PHONE CAL, 198
27/31948

It is the accepted principle of all federal constitutiont that the Units are demarcated with reference to language and culture homogeneity and regard being had to the fact that India has decided in favour of a federal constitution, the province and states should be demarcated accordingly.

The Drafting Committee have recommended the setting up of a Commission, before the Constitution is put into operation, "to enquire into all relevant matters not only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic regions". We demand that the proposed Commission should be charged with comprehensive terms of Reference so as to meet the question of increasing, diminishing and altering the areas or boundaries of existing provinces, including West Bengal and Bihar.

This redistribution of Boundaries and also the creation of new provinces may be effected by the Governor-General in exercise of the power conferred upon him under sec 290 of the Government of India Act 1935, and it is our case that West Bengal Government and Bengal Members of the Constituent Assembly should at once take up with the Nehru Government the question of taking action in terms of Sec.290 of the Government of India Act 1935, even before the new Constitution is put up into operation.

The Principle of linguistic redistribution of Indian Provinces has been recognised by the Congress. Our demand for redistribution is according to this principle. From that point of view Bengali-speaking areas in the adjoining provinces should be amalgamated with West Bengal. It is no innovation because this demand has been put forward from time to time for several years past.

Dye

Rajendraprosad's reprimand to Bihar leaders for their failure to disseminate Hindi language in the area is an indirect

admission of the strength and justice of Bengal's claim which is incontestable. Unfortunately it appears that the question is not going to be submitted to an impartial arbitration. Brute strength is being invoked to retain territories, unfairly won. No conference of leaders is proposed to be convened, as in the case of Bihar and Orissa, for an amicable settlement of conflicting claims. The question to-day, is what procedure Bengal should adopt to get her claims recognised.
The gift of a fortionate accident
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5. K. GANGULY.
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Press Conference.
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.
27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.
(2)
Page 2
PHONE CAL. 198
27/3/1948.
Pandit Jawharlal's plea of inopportuneness loses sight of the time-factor. The motto of "now or never" applies to this question with a force and cogency to which no other contemporary problem offers a parallel. Unless the question is settled before the draft constitution is placed on the Statute-Book, elaborate and perhaps impossible conditions will have to be fulfilled before the claim can be formally advanced or entertained. In the meantime the process of compulsory conversion to Hindi language and culture, backed up by all the resources of a powerfulx provincial Government and all the pertinacity of an aggressive provincial spirit bent upon Letaining the territories will continue apace. Already intimidation, cajolery and specious promises of preferential treat-ment are in full operation to undermine the morale of the people

concerned. The next census will be so manipulated as to destroy all evidence that Bengali was ever spoken in the area claimed. Education, to be conducted henceforward through the medium of Hindi alone, will cut at the very foundations of Bengali language and culture, and in the short course of a single generation, Bengalees as a separate racial and linguistic group will cease to exist in Bihar.

As against the ever-wakeful vigilance and aggressive tactics of the Bihar Government, the Government of West Bengal maintains an attitude of masterly passivity. The West Bengal Cabinet has made no public statement of their policy in this behalf. The agonised cries of their helpless brethren in Bihar, the public agitation that is slowly gaining in intensity and momentum, the hectic activity of the New Bengal Association which has battered at each ministerial door have not been able to make them break their vow of silence. Not merely the West Bengal Cabinet, but even the B.P.C.C. and the Bengal members of the Constituent Assembly have not done anything as jet to take up the matter and ventilate the universal feeling of the Bengalees. If the spell of silence is not immediately broken, the legitimate aspirations of Bengal will be buried once for all in the grave of impenetrable silence. Can we save the province from such a catastrophe ?

Schlankly

P.dent

S. K. GANGULY.

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Press Conference.

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE

CALCUTTA-13.

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PHONE CAL. 198

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27/3 1948.

Thanks are due to the Press for its championship of the cause.

But this has failed so far to make the least impression upon the popular and responsible government. The tempo and intensity of the campaign will have to be very greatly acclerated if the goal is to be reached. Something of the excitement and enthusiasm of the partition movement will have to be recaptured. Something of the stirring emotion that is generated when great issues hang in the balance will have to be whipped up in the leading articles and communicated to the reading public.

We must carry on the agitation with an unflagging persistence, before which the reticence of political leaders must needs give way The pathos of the large-scale evacuation from East Bengal, which is a standing challenge to our manhood should provide an urgency of and a passionate depth of feeling to our efforts in the direction.

Let us conclude by making a fervent appeal to the Fourth Estate of the realm to live up to its great traditions and throw in all its weight to construct a greater Bengal which alone can enable us to realise our great destiny and fulfil the latent potentialities of the Bengalee genius.

Skandaly

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION'S

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APPEAL

REGARDING LINGUISTIC PROVINCE.

28

1. In 1912 when Bihar and Orissa were formed into a separate province, the Congress as well as the distinguished leaders of Bihar desired and most emphatically recommended that the Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar viz whole of Manbhum District, Pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum District and such tracts in Santal Parganas where the prevailing language was Bengali and portion of Purnea District to the East of the river Mahananda should be brought under the Government of Bengal. This area covers about 8,000 square miles with Bengali-speaking population of 36 lakhs.

2. But the Britishers, who were then the rulers of the country, not only did not bring about the reunion but adopted the most

undemocratic policy of changing the Bengali language into Hindi, in those tracts, by all sorts of Governmental measures.

3. The Britishers having left the country, now there should be no reason why the long standing injustice should continue under the National Government of the Congress which in their election manifesto (1945) supported provincial redistribution on linguistic basis.

4. But to our dismay, in reply to the memorandum presented by New Bengal Association, the Prime Minister of India has expressed the view that the present is not the opportune moment for redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (25-2-48)

5. This reply has completely upset the public. Their apprehension is that if the reunion be further delayed even for a short period, it will result in complete denial of t he legitimate claims of Bengal. The reasons for such apprehension are not imaginary but based on indisputable facts.

6. The President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and some newspapers of Bihar have lately by violent words denounced the demand for reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar with West Bengal. The police and other Governmental machineries are being used to prevent the leaders and the people of the tracts concerned from taking any step to express their wishes in favour of reunion with West Bengal. The facsimile of the letter from D. I. G. Ranchi to S. P. Dhanbad dated 23rd. October, 1947, published in the press on the 29th. January, 1948, will give a grim picture of the situation. It contained the following:

"You should obtain reports on the activities of important workers and sympathisers who are agitating or trying to work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in West Bengal and if they are found agitating or actively supporting the agitation, a full report should be sent immediately. It is necessary to keep a running record of each individual for suitable action in future if necessary".

7. It is reported that the District Magistrates, Forest Officers, the S. D. O'S. Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools, Bihari teachers in schools imported by transfer from outside have been using the Governmental machinery against expression of any wish or opinion for re-union with West Bengal and they are supported by non-Bengali merchants and some nominated reactionary members of the District Board. It is also reported that the Patna University has not granted affiliation to a proposed College at Purulia because the Advisory

Committee could not find its way to accept Hindi as medium of instruction and the matter is pending for two years. It is further reported
that the District Magistrate of Manbhum rejected all applications of condidates for Bihar Home Guards as none of them signed their
names in Hindi. Even under British rule such acts of undemocratic high-handedness were not perpetrated. Freedom of speech and
expression, right to assemble peaceably and to form associations are being practically denied on a wide scale.
to ssemble
8. Our Association addresssed hundreds of letters to the residents in different places of Bengali-speaking tracts of Bihar informing
them that our Association intended to send workers throughout the country for peacefully mobilising the mass opinion for reunion, by
means of meetings, processions, posters, etc. But all the addressees wrote back in reply that they were afraid of Bihar Government and its
officers and they apprehended that such agitation would be suppressed with a heavy hand even if it was carried out most peacefully.
9. But at same time the addresse es are definitely of opinion that if the re-union be not brought about within three or four months,
no man or woman in the villages will ever afterwards dare to claim reunion as the result of the intensive Bihari propaganda coupled
with intimidation by the reactionaries.
10. So it is perfectly clear from the above that (a) the Central Government has no intention of taking up the matter, (b) the leaders
and Government officers of Bihar would terrorise the local people if they express their wish for reunion and (c) the local people are
afraid even to hold peaceful meetings (to pass resolutions demanding reunion), not to speak of other demonstrations. So the entire
burden falls on the shoulders of the sons and daughters of West Bengal to get reunion of 36 lakhs of their brothers and sisters and that
definitely within the period of three months, if possible.
P. T. O.

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008 (2)
11. Act 3 of the Draft Constitution of India reads as follows :-
Parliament may by law-

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(a) form a new State by separation of territory from a State or by uniting two or more States or parts of States.
(b) increase the area of any States.
(c) diminish the area of any State,
(d) alter the boundaries of any State,
12. At page 159 of the draft Constitution of India, first Schedule, Part I, there is the following footnote :-
The Draft Committee therefore rocommends that a Commission should be appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant
matters, not only as regards Andhra, but also as regards other linguistic regions, with instructions to submit its report in time to
enable any new State whose formation it may recommend to be created under Sec, 290 of the Act of 1935 and to be mentioned in this
Schedule before the Constitution is finally adopted".
13. From the above quotations it is perfectly clear that there are two, and only two, alternatives for those who are anxious for re-union
(i) Either to wait till the so-called opportune moment comes, in other words, to get the boundaries of the States altered under
arficle 3 of the Draft Constitution,
(ii) Or to carry on an intensive agitation to get a Commission issued at once under Government of India Act of 1935, similar to
what the Draft Committee has recommended with respect to Andhra province, (as quoted above).
As regards the first alternative, it is needless to say that it means that the matter cannot be taken up within two, three or even
more years from now. So this alternative is not at all acceptable.
Regarding the second alternative, the matter will be quickly and finally disposed of, and the States of West Bengal and Bihar will
be finally described with the Scheduled areas in the respective States in the Constitutlon itself, This will not be possible if the long
standing question be left open.
Conclusion.
14. Hence it is absolutely necessary that a strong and effective agitation must be set on foot for issue of a Commission at once for
re-drawing the boundary between West Bengal and Bihar under Section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 to enable the

Constituent Assembly to embody the States of West Bengal and Bihar with their respective Scheduled areas in the Constitution itself.
The members of the Constituent Assembly of West Bengal should take up the mattter as they are solely responsible for the
Constitution in so far as it affects West Bengal and its border lands in Bihar. As none of them was in the draft Committee, they should
in a body send a note to the President of the Constituent Assembly for the issue of a Commission similar to that recommended by the
Draft Committee in the footnote at page 159 and also in the letter of Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Draft Committee (see para
20, page XI of the Draft Constitution of India).
The Commission is to work out or enquire into all relevant matters for determining what Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar
and in Orissa should be included in West Bengal on linguistic and cultural basis under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935.
Considering the urgency of the matter, it is hoped that the members of the Constituent Assembly representing West Bengal will
not waste a moment in taking up this momentous issue.
20. 3. 48.
S. K. GANGULY.
President. 8
New Bengal Associaiton.

31
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.
The Prime Minister's Address at Vizag on Linguistic Provinces
A REJOINDER.
30
1. Prime Minister Nehru, in reply to the Memorandum on amalgamation of Bengali-speaking tracts
with West Bengal submitted by New Bengal Association, has said that the present time is quite inoppor-
tune for considering the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Thereafter the
Prime Minister at a public meeting held at Vizagapatam on the 14th March said as follows:- "They would
be losing sight of all they stood for during the past three decades or more if they

thought only in terms of
their provinces and considered themselves only as Andhras, Bengalees and Punjabees. The people of each
province had overflowed themselves and it was difficult for the Bengalees to be confined to Bengal,
Gujratis to Gujrat and Maharastrians to Maharastra".

2. Thus it is quite clear that by his address in the Vizagapatam meeting he means to advise that
there should not be any agitation for redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on
linguistic basis. With due respect we entirely disagree with the Prime Minister.

3. The Bengalees are claiming 8,000 square miles of tracts now in Bihar to be reunited with West
Bengal. These tracts had been for centuries integral parts of Bengal and it will not be too much to say
that no Bihari had lived there 20 years ago. So the Prime Minister's statement that Bengalees
overflowed themselves to the lands of contiguous provinces does not apply to the tracts claimed. No doubt
during the British rule many educated middle class families have settled in towns of Bihar and Chota-
nagpur but these are far outside the tracts claimed. The Prime Minister may have these Bengalee
settlers in his mind when he spoke about overflowing of people of one province (Bengal) to the other
(Bihar). So the people of West Bengal and of the tract in question (of Bihar) by their demand for reunion
cannot be accused of a grabbing propensity, rather, on the contrary, they have approached the Govern-
ment of India and the Constituent Assembly for protection against such propensity of a neighbouring
province.

4. The Prime Minister has castigated the demand for reunion as an outcome of parochial outlook
and narrow provincial spirit and has appealed to all people to rise above these and hold the interest of
India supreme.

Here again, with due respect, we cannot be in agreement with the Prime Minister. The

fundamental question is whether the provincial spirit and consequent bitterness can ever be eliminated
by keeping a tract containing 36 lakhs of people speaking Bengali language within the province of Bihar.
It can never be so. The prepetual scramble will prevent growth of broader outlook. On the other hand, if
such tract be reunited with the parent province, the bitterness will at once become non-existent. It is
only in such atmosphere that the people will hold the interest of India supreme. Therefore the redrawing
of boundaries must evidently be a statesmanlike move. Stalin's standard is that if one million people of
a locality want self-government, they must have it, but less then one million cannot have it. In the
present case more than three and a half millions of Bengali-speaking people want reunion. How can it be
turned down by the Constitution-makers who have resolved to constitute India into a sovereign
democratic republic?
5. At that meeting the Prime Minister announced that the demand for the establishment of Andhra
province had already been conceded and the question before them was how to do it. He revealed that the
Constituent Assembly would set up a committee next month to consider the broader aspects of the question
and on the findings of that committee would depend the appointment of a Boundary Commission.
6. His significant omission to refer to provinces other than Andhra, which have put forth similar
demands for a redistribution, makes it perfectly clear that the Congress resolution (1911), the clear-cut
resolution (1912) of the Bihar leaders, the Congress election manifesto (1945) and the convention of the
members of Constituent Assembly (December 1946) reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces
and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis are now being cast to the four winds-so also
the drafting Committees recommendations.
7. Therefore it is requested that the Government of India, the Constituent

Assembly, the Government
of West Bengal, the members of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal, should lose no time but proceed
in concert, according to the request conveyed in the resolution of the Working Committee of New Bengal
Association dated 12. 3. 48 and delivered to them, to have the reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar
effected with West Bengal.
Dated, 16th March, 1948.
27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.
S. K. GANGULY.
President, NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

66
Resolutions passed by New Bengal Association working Committee regarding the formation of Lingustic Province of West Bengal.
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This meeting of the members of the Working Committee of New Bengal Association records its deep disappoint-
ment at the opinion expressed by the Central Government that the present time is quite inopportune for considering
the redistribution of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This meeting considers that time has become the
essential factor in the matter because intimidation and cajolery are being employed to undermine the morale of the
Bengali-speaking population in Bihar. So in the present critical situation that has arisen, this meeting with great
concern resolves :
1. That the Government of India be requested to appoint a Commission under section 290 of the Government of India
Act, 1935, to work out or inquire into all relevant matters concerning the reunion of Bengali-speaking tracts in Bihar
with West Bengal on linguistic and cultural basis, in order to remove the longstanding injustice and also to enable the
States of West Bengal and Bihar with their respective tribal areas mentioned in Fifth Schedule parts V. II etc. of the

Draft Constitution before the Constitution is finally adopted, just in the same way as has been recommended by the
Drafting Committee with respect to 1st Schedule part 1 to be found in the footnote at page 159 of the draft Constitution
of India.
2. That all the members of the Constituent Assembly representing West Bengal be requested to take up the matter
in right earnest without loss of time and exert their influence to include in the terms of Reference of the recommenda-
tions of the drafting committee to be found at the footnote of P 159 of the draft constitution the case for enquiry and
redrawing boundaries between Bengal, Bihar and Orissa without which the question will remain where it is for two,
three or more years with the result that the claim of West Bengal may be irretrievably lost; in the alternative, the
members in a body should advise the President of the Constituent Assembly that the redrawing of boundaries between
Bengal, Bihar and Orissa must be completed under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitu-
tion is finally adopted.
3. That the Premier of West Bengal and his colleagues in the Cabinet be requested to take up the matter in right
earnest without delay and point out to the Government of India that the redrawing of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar
and Orissa should be taken up at once under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 so that the matter may
be completely settled before the Constitution of India is finally adopted, in order to remove a longstanding injustice
and also to enable the provisions of the Fifth Schedule part V and Il, etc. to be accurately stated with respect to
Scheduled areas, etc. of the States of West Bengal and Bihar;
That the Hon'ble Ministers should also point out that waiting for actions under article 3 of the draft Constitution
may be like waiting till the Greek Calends, in view of intensive Bihari propaganda in the meantime in the tracts
concerned accompanied by coercion and intimidation, official and non-official;
That the Hon'ble Ministers will also advise West Bengal members of Constituent Assembly to see their way to
get the question of reunion of the tracts concerned disposed of as quickly as

possible under the provision of the
Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitution of India is finally adopted.
4. That the Members of the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal be requested to take up the matter in right earnest
without delay and point out to the Government of West Bengal that the redrawing of boundaries between Bengal, Bihar
and Orissa should be taken up atonce under section 290 of the Government of India Act 1935 so that the matter may
be settled before the Constitution of India is finally adopted, in order to remove a longstanding injustice and also to
enable the provisions of the Fifth Schedule part V and II etc. to be accurately stated with respect to Scheduled Areas
of the States of West Bengal and Bihar;
That the members of the Legislative Assembly should also point out that waiting for action under articles 3 of
the Draft Constitution may be like waiting till the Greek Calends in view of the intensive Bihari propaganda, in the
meantime, in the tracts concerned accompanied by coercion and intimidation, official and non-official.
That the Members of the Legislative Assembly will also advise West Bengal Members of the Constituent Assembly
to see their way to get the question of reunion of the tracts concerned disposed of as quickly as possible under the
provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 before the Constitution of India is finally adopted.
5. That the West Bengal Government and the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee be requested to issue a state-
ment on the subject and thus allay the feeling of suspense and unrest prevailing in West Bengal and the Bengali-speaking
tructs now in Bihar.
Dated, 12th March, 1948.
27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13.
S. K. GANGULY.
President, NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

87012103 MEMORANDUM 32
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Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts
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S. K. GANGULY, President,

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
27-B CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-13
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Page - 68
33
DIVISION OF PROVINCES ON LINGUISTIC BAGIS
29-68
GANDHIJI'S VIEW
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NEW DELHI, JAN. 25.-Mahatma Gandhi in course of his prayer speech on Sunday evening dwelt on the reconsititution of provinces on linguistic basis and said that the Congress had already adopted that principle and declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally. But such redistribution, Gandhiji warned, should not militate against the organic unity of India.
Continuing Gandhiji referred to the proceedings of the Congress Working Committee which had been sitting for the last two days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of reconsititution of provinces on linguistic basis. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. were both present in today's meeting.
The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as

they came to power as such
redistribution would be
conducive to the cultural
advancement of country.
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vitality from the centre as the latter in its
derived all
and
turn
authority
powers
from the former. It would be fatal if it
led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings
and rivalrism between Tamil and Andhra, for
instance, Bombay and Karnatak and so on.
IMPETUS TO CULTURE
The redistribution of provinces on linguistic
basis, Mahatma Gandhi said was necessary if
to grow to their
provincial languages were
full height. Hindustani was
to be the lingua franca
Rashtra Bhasha of India
but it would not take the
place of the provincial
tongues. It could not be
the medium of instruction
in the provinces-much less
English. Its function was to
make them realise thei.
organic relationship with
India. The world outside
did not know them as
Gujratis, Maharashtris,
Tamilians, etc. but only as
Indians.
We must therefore
resolutely discourage all
fissiparous tendencies a

feel and behave as Indians.
Subject to this paramount
consideration, a linguistic
redistribution of provinces
would give an impetus to
He hoped that they would
frontiers on the new basis. That was the foreign
not need a boundary commission to delimit the
way which they had discarded. The best thing
would be for themselves to determine the boun-
daries by mutual agreement and consent and place
the same before their Prime Minister for his final
sanction. That would be true independence.
But such re-distribution should not militate education and trade.
against the organic unity of India. Autonomy
did not and should not mean disruption or that
thereafter provinces could go the way they chose
independent of one another and of the Centre.
If each province began to look upon it self as a
separate, sovereign unit, India's independence
would lose its meaning and with it would vanish
the freedom of the various units as well.
as
The charter of India's independence
aonceived by the Congress was based on village
cutonomy. But all the villages were to derive
to derive
To go to a third party in the shape of a bonn-
dary commission for a settlement would be a
negation of independence. They must evolve
inter-dependence and mutual help.-A.P.I.

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34
Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts
IN
BIHAR AND ORISSA
WITH
WEST BENGAL
Submitted by
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.
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MM 27-B. Chittaranjan Avenue,
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1. Curzon's Partition and its annulment (1905).

Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by country wide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Goyernment of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.

2. Government of India's Assurance to modify the Boundaries (August 1911).

Accordingly, the the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August 1911 to the Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces (1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying

out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all."

3. The King-Emperor ratified it (December 1911).

-The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December 1911 also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries. re

4. Resolution of the Indian National Congress urged the Transfer of Bengali-Speaking tracts from Bihar to Bengal, (December 1911).

Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, a Resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December 1911 urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal. The Resolution was proposed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswar Lal, a leading politician of Bihar. (Vide Append ix I.)

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

5. Bihar Leaders accepted the soundness of the Congress Resolution and desired its implementation, (January 1912).

In January 1912, several Bihari leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the

Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the
under the
Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. They specified that in Chotanagpur, the whole of Manbhum district and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum were Bengali-speaking, so they should go to Bengal and the rest of the Division which was Hindi-speaking should remain in Bihar; such tracts in Santal Parganas, where the prevailing language was Bengali should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district must remain in Bihar. (Vide Appendix I.)

6. The Demand repeated In January 1912.

6. The Demand r

Sj. Surendra Nath Banerji, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India dated the 25th August 1911 the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.

7. The Reply of the Government, April 1912.

In reply to this representation the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration, demonioased tolla yloleibomial

8. Bengal Provincial Conference pressed the Demand in April 1912 and repeated it year after year.

On the 7th April 1912, the Bengal Provincial Conference passed a Resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India

as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August 1911.

O This demand was repeated year after year by the Bengal Provincial Conference,

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their Further in 1912 similar

lands from Bengal.

representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

9. The Demand pressed in the Memorandum submitted to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford (1917).

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In 1917, in the Memorandum that was submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing respon-sible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and Assam, the population of which were Bengalees in language, race and tradition. So it was urged such

that by territorial redistribution

should be included in Bengal.

areas

10. Nehru Report recommended formation of Provinces on linguistic basis (1928)

In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known as the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic

basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation,

II. Simon Commission Report also Recommended readjustment on linguistic basis.

The Report of the Simon Commission ex-
speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial
pressed the view that "the use of a common
individuality" and recommended as a
"matter of

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for". (pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).w
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12. Pandit Nehru emphasised the same view. Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

13. The Election Manifesto of the Congress, (1945) supported linguistic and cultural basis for provincial redistribution.

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"The
edi The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words:

Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis". This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.
tedd diw
14. Convention of the Members [of the Constituent Assembly, December 1946.
On the 8th December 1946 a Convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.
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goode
15. Self-determination is to be the guiding principle.gifor
But of late there has been
by some newspapers of Bihar
bitter attack
against the
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reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.
It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any inter-

ference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way", as Pandit Nehru says.

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16. Radcliffe Award necessitates the aid solution of the Problem without Delay.

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* Befoee the Radcliffe

Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091, By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from 77,442 sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal hase been disastrously crippled by the Award,and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.

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Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have got locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit

of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
17. The tracts of the present district of Manbhum never formed a part of Chutia-nagpur or Bihar but had been always in Bengal from old times.
Jadi noitatie rodsba
The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them. Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (Garh Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and that Panchkote, the most important and largest Raj within Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Jaffar Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas, in consequence of which Burdwan chakla was formed containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. In Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second Part, page 189, it is stated that "rich Zamindaries of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla". In the Report at page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was

Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended herewith conclusively proves that Panchkote was in Bengal and was not a part of Chutianagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachete, Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Dayabhaga is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Dayabhaga School of Hindu Law.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805 the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13. of 1833 the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845 Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magisterial administration.

18. Dhalbhum also was never a part of

Chutianagpur or Bihar; it was a part of Bengal from ancient times.

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum refused to accept the suzerainty of the British, but subsequently his successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267/ on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII dated 14. 10. 1779 shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833 the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhaibhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till to-day refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.

19. The culture, customs etc. of the general populace of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are totally Bengalee and nothing else.

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In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and

universally

we performed.

Pujas are

Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they are done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Beharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijes, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The peculiarity of cooking,
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intervening between them and Bihar proper, ranges between 1,640 to 3,281 feet above sea level (See Oxford map).
From the geographical position and physical feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia-Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.
dhotis by men and
the mode of putting on
sarees by women, dressing of hair by women, the way of mutual greetings on first meeting, Harinam Sankirtan in all villages, the reading of Krittibas's Ramayan and Kashi Das's Maha-

harat, Jatras (theatrical performance without scenes) in Bengali and the presentation of Radha Krishna's Biraha and Milanlilas accompanied by dances-all have upon them the unmistakable Bengali stamp. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.

20. Geographical Position and
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Physical
Features favour the Claims of West Bengal.
baA look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. (Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pergana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho etc. and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory of mountainous and jungly Chutia Nagpur. Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Behar proper to the above mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.
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in jod
The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nagpur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and inclues Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau].

21. Rennell's maps are conclusive evidence of the above. On blood fortar odd Ad J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagur and Niagur were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Balar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhoom. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomchans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Domchanch.se Map No. VIL further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur; and the initial B of Birboom in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Ramcurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
22. Language of the people of Manbhum supports amalgamation.
Leslaydlg haa noisiscq Loidqerg Santals ala muddao cafa es modd (All eiður Area tin in sq. miles. Total speak popula- Bengalees, Bengalee People tion. as speaking subsi- Hindi. To strig Tools Ia uond bed edu 30 level od medd Census 1941. Census 1931. diary language)
4,147 20,32, 146 13,57,284 2,67,619 3,57,075
67.3% 13% 17.5%
4,147 18,10,890 12,22.689 2.42,991 3,21,690
67.5% 13.4% 17.8%
odro boje FSW 67.5%
The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained

in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 p. c. of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention
determination.
of the principle of self-
The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows:-
aebuloze

Total popula- tion.	Bengalees.	Santals.
Sadar sub- division.	12,89,798	10,46,653
Dhanbad subdivision.	5,21,092	1,76,036
00 197	18,10,890	12,22,689

Hind- sthani,	1,68,714	73,377	2,42,091	62,269

The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 34, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindusthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called
They cannot be
the floating population.
regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on

a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district including Dhanbad subdivision should not be transferred to Bengal. Issidang as

23. Attempt to replace Bengali language by Hindi in Dhanbad, Santal Parganas and Dhalbhum.

It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as soon as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge in Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

2,59,421

3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government. Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5109 R S. dated 7. 8. 1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in

Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and ryats, who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle the Additional. Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had to reconsider the matter. After long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J. T. C, 9 dated 8. 6. 1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I. C. S. had to observe in his final Report that there was

much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record", and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it". After a lapse of over 20 years
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since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record; but even to-day the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.
In Dhalbum, Hindi was prescribed in 1934 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar aetion was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's
yo
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successor as Addl. Dy. Commr. Dhanbad
in 1921) is of interest: "The
in 1921) is of interest: "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees".

In 1921 Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed "In 1914 Mr. Luby, S. D. O. of Dhanbad, has started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language. The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921 at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived. The similar policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to me on the basis of policy adopted in Dhanbad."
Bengali by Hindi was renewed.
In 1937 a planned attempt
to replace
But in spite
of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.
Mr. Rajendra Prosad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sanmilan expressed his annoyance to the Sanmilan for "not propaga-ting Hindi in Singbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas". So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali speaking area in Bihar failed.
24. Language of the people of Dhalbhum
ed supports its amalgamation with West Bengal.
to Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to census of 1931
Mother

Tongue
Bengali
Mother
Tongue
Hindi
Mother
Tongue
Oriya
Mother
Mother Mother
Tongue Tongue Tongue
Santali Bhumij Ho
Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City
1,41,105
(Total population 3,94,595).
49,624 44,640 97,119 22.828 9,467
Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)
17,768 36,782 8,791
16700
564
307 2,616

badThe figures show that entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibe their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total popu-

lation of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768, Oriyas 8,791 and Hindi speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bhiar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi speakers number inore than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

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Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi speakers but of Bengali speakers and Oriya speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been already discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

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So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

25. Saraikela should also be included in West Bengal, melanibaloni noisiyibdue muldisda (2.40,8 moisslugog lejoT)

Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by

lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover a portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharsawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the sub division of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

beThe population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30%), Oriyas 36,363 (25%), Hindustanis 4,911 (3%), Tribals 58,734 (41%), Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikala the main language is Oriya".

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From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, much less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

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added a galli
26. Extract from Grierson's Linguistic Survey
10 of India page 139-140, Vol. V Part 2
efully support the claims of West Bengal.get
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"On the east of Hazaribagh we drop from
the plateau into the Southern portion of the
Santhal parganas and North of the District of
Manbhum. Bengali is the language of that
portion of the Santhal Parganas which adjoins
Hazaribagh and of the whole of the District of
Manbhum.
do guiwolfot
Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district;
and the same language is spoken in that part
M

of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is
south of Manbhum. The State of Seraikala con-
sists of two portions, an Eastern and a Western.
In the eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are
spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of
Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the
western portion of the State of Seraikela the
main language is Oriya.
To
In all these sub-plateau tracts, however,
there is a strong element speaking not the main
language of the localities but some form of
Magahi. We find pure Magahi spoken in the
Chakradharpur thana just below the plateau, and
also in the States of Seraikela and Kharsawan.
So also in Manbhum and again in Kharsawan,
we find a corrupt Magahi spoken principally
by Kurmis, which, among other names, is known

as Kurmali, a form of speech we shall deal with presently. In the same district, pure Magahi is spoken locally by some of the higher castes. In the five sub-plateau parganas of Ranchi, besides the non-Aryan Mundari, there are spoken both Bengali and a dialect of Magahi locally known as Panch Pargania or Tamaria which more nearly approaches the pure form of the language, and which is not so mixed with Bengali as the dialect of the Manbhum Kurmis. To conclude, as will be shortly explained, the same corrupt Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in the South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in a part of the thana of Ramgarh.

It must be noted that in this belt, Magahi is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language. In Manbhum, speakers of Kurmali live side by side with speakers of Bengali, and in Singhbhum and its Native States, side by side with speakers of Oriya, or in the case of Eastern Seraikella, with some speakers of Oriya and other speakers of Bengali." This state of affairs is illustrated in the map accompanying his observation.

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dai The extracts make the claim of West Bengal for Dhalbhum, for Saraikala and whole of Manbhum irrefutable.

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27. The extracts further support the claim of West Bengal for five parganas of Ranchi District, three thanas of Hazaribagh district and the western fringe of Santal Parganas contiguous to Hazaribagh.

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Further, the extract "Bengali is the language

of that portion of the Santal parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" * * * is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches Hazaribagh lio Mihijam, Jamtara, Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the contiguous eastern areas.

In page 166 of the same volume, Grierson writes "The east and south-east of Ranchi is a meeting place of three overlapping forms of Aryan speach. In the south-east

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the Jain Majhis and the well-to-do cultivating and trading castes speak the Saraki form of Bengali. In the five parganas Tamar, Bundu, Baranda, Rahe and Silli),

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Bengali Saraki overlaps". These parganas are contiguous to the Jhalda area of Manbhum ; and Grierson's estimate of the number of Bengalee-speakers in Ranchi is no less than 54,860. So there is no reason why this portion of Ranchi District should not be amalgamated with Bengal.

The extract "Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in part of the thana of Ramgarh." It is well known that the people of thanas Gola, Kashmar and part of Ramgarh exclusively speak Bengali. They do not even use Hindi as a subsidiary language. So it is proper that these thanas

should also be amalgamated with Bengal.
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28. Subdivisions of Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur,
or and Rajmahal in Santal Parganas should
mot also be amalgamated with West Bengal.
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o
Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts
of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda of
West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above

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subdivision's is almost the same as that of the con-
tiguous districts of West Bengal. In the begin-
In the begin-
ning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas
within Bhagalpur and the remainder in
Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was
formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and
Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within
Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was
its capital. The western natural boundary of
West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and
the ranges extending southward. From the list
of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time
of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Per-
manent Settlement the subdivisions of Rajmahal,
Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of
Dumka were within Bengal.
In 1912 the district Was included in
the separated Province of Bihar. In the Census
Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali

language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Perganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali speaking people, still Bengali is the language among the aborigines of the district." is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal: Bengalees 42,937 plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi speakers 1,22,601. Dumka : Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,268, against Hindi-speakers 1,97,434. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Rajmahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

Tey The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali, with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in One
the court of the Judge at Birbhum.
such is to be found in the Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi. Relevant extracts from this document are reproduced in Appendix III.

29. Necessary strip of land from eastern portion of Purnea should be given to West Bengal.

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In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage

of an artificial imposition.
The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi speakers is four times that of Bengali speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur, and for which the approximate figures may be stated as: Bengalees 217 thou sand, Hindi-speakers-136 thousand. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali of
The spoken language in the eastern portion Purnea District is called Kishengunjia or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the spoken language of North Bengal districts of Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than 6 lakhs in his time. He observed that dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishen gunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part of Sadar subdivision. The three succeeding censuses record the following figures with respect to the whole district of Purnea :

	Hindi	Bengali
1911	12,02,568	7,49,018
this		
1921		

18,74,971
1,02,005
obia
Ha 1931
19,80,123
1,47,299
It is remarkable that in the first census after the creation of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province the number of Bengali-speakers decreased by 6 lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision dd

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In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Satgope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Nama-sudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.
XIC
So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.
A new factor has come to work as a sequel to the partition of Bengal and the peculiar position of West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts have been cut off from the rest of West Bengal by the unjustifiable corridor which the Radcliffe Award has provided for the Pakistan province resulting in interruption of communica-tion between the northern and southern sections of West Bengal. Control over the route through

Katihar, Barsoi and Kisengunge would in the circumstances be of inestimable benefit to Bengal; and it is to be hoped that Bihar will not grudge this to Bengal.

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30. General remarks with respect to the tribal population in the areas dealt with above.

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people outside their groups. A fair number out of these (including some 40,000 out of 2.82,000 Santals in Manbhum, about 5,000 Santals in Singhbhum, and all but 3,000 out of over a lakh of Bhumijes in Manbhum) have even given up their tribal language altogether and speak in Bengali exclusively. In respect of Bhumijes, believed to the autocthonous race in Manbhum, it was recorded as long ago as in 1832 by Mr. Dent who had been sent by the East India Company to quell a rising that "they spoke Bengali and were adopting Hindu customs". More than half a century later, Risley (the anthropologist) observed: "Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and speak only Bengali". In respect of aboriginals in the Santal Parganas, the Census Commissioner's observation about Bengali being very much more current than Hindi as a subsidiary language among the aboriginal people of the district has a.ready been quoted in a previous paragraph.

31. Conclusion

rad It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specified in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein.

The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly crea-provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

Living side by side with Bengalees in the area under consideration (viz., Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum District, entire District of Manbhum, eastern fringe of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, whole of Jamtara sub-division, 2/3rds of Dumka subdivision, entire Pakur sub-division and ths of Rajmahal subdivision of the Santal Parganas, and such portions of Purnea District as lie to the east of the Maba-ted nanda-Kalindri river and of the Katihar-Manihari road) are large numbers of Santals, Bhumijes and other Aboriginal Tribes the great majority of whom speak among themselves in their own tribal languages, but in Bengali with

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S. K. GANGULY,
President,
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.

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enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking
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of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts
luo blow duemele placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar.
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gainaged odd aoqiang Purnea and Malda to the east of the river
alosjong videoileme beeMahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistie
world boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to
baa tilidade difcondos mis Bengal and the western portions of these two
districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts
in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing
language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and dA

the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain
in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole
district of Manbhum and Parganah Dhalbhum
of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and
they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division
which is Hindi-speaking remainining in Bihar.'
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Appendix II
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ROSTFigures from the 1931 Census Tables showing Languages spoken in
different
Subdivisions of Districts on the eastern fringe of Bihar Province.
Name of Sub- Area
Tota!
division or in square population Bengali

Number of persons with mother tongue
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Oriya Santhali Bhumij Ho Oraon &
other area.
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Page - 82
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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
II x Part 2.qÅ
Approximate figures for such portions only of the Subdivisions of
S. Parganas and of Purnea as are claimed for inclusion in Bengal.

Name of Area Total
Subdivision or in sq. population
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(a) Most of these speak in the Siripuria boli which Dr. Grieson classes as a dialect of Bengali,
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APPENDIX III.
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বদ্যৈনাথ
মহামহিম শ্ৰীযুত জজসাহবে বরাবরষেু—
জীলে বরিভ·াম—
28. রামদত্ত ঝা ছলিনে তাহার ৺ প্রাপ্তি হইলে হুযুররে হুকুম মত ঝামত ওঝার পূত্র শ্রীযুত আনন্দদত্ত ওঝা সকুল কার্য্যে খবর গরিি সুন্দর
।
.....ইহার মদ্যৈে ওঝাগরিি কার্য্যে
নযিুক্ত হইলে বড় ভাল হয়ে শ্রীযুত আনন্দদত্ত ঝা সর্ব্বপ্রকাররে এ
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।
শ্রীযুত গবরণর জনোরলে নওয়াপ সাহবেরে নকিট পাঠাইতে হুকুম
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৬৭ নজি দওেঘররে দরখাস্ত নবিদেন শ্রীক্রপোরাম চক্রবর্ত্তী ও
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PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH the
DELIVERED BY
Dr. S. K. Ganguly
at a Conference in Calcutta held on 24th January 1948.
Friends and Delegates,
adIt had been announced in the papers that
our distinguished countryman and the accredited
spokesman of the Bengalee population in Bihar,
Sj. P. R. Das was to have presided over the
Conference convened to press forward the claims
of Bengal to the Bengali-speaking tracts in
Bihar. No worthier or more distinguished choice
could have been made for the purpose. Un-
fortunately, owing to unavoidable circumstances,
it has not been possible for him to make
time to attend this function. In his ab-
sence, the task of guiding the deliberations of
this momentous session has devolved upon my
unworthy shoulders. I have no claim to political

or any other sort of eminence, having nothing but a genuine desire to serve to the full extent of my humble capacity. Success depends not so much on the status of the President as on the Justice of the claim advanced and the spirit of strong determination to back up an undeniably just claim. Both these factors being present in an abundant measure, I have no manner of doubt that the Conference will be a splendid success despite the personal shortcomings of the President.

JUICE BE

ear The memorandum which we have drawn up for presentation to the members of the Constituent Assembly and the Central Government has made out such a convincing and unassailable case for inclusion in West Bengal of Bengali speaking tracts existing in six districts of Bihar and Seraikela State that no additionl arguments from me are necessary to commend it to your acceptance. The Bengali-speaking tracts are: (i) the entire district of Manbhum; (2) in the district of Singhbhum, the entire subdivisions of Dhalbhum containing Jamshedpur and State of Seraikella; (3 in the Santal Parganas, the entire subdivision of Jamtara and Pakur, major portions of the subdivisions of Dumka and Rajmahal and the western fringe which contains Mihijam, Madhupur and Deoghar; (4) in the district of Hazaribagh, the thanas of Gola, Kashmar and Ramgarh ; (5) in the district of Ranchi, the Panch Parganas consisting of Bundu, Baranda, Rahe, Tamar, Silli; (6) in the district of Purnea, the areas lying to the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and the Katihar-Manihari Road. Indeed it seems unfortunate that a case so palpably just and self-evidently righteous should need any fighting at all. Certain integral parts of Bengal were cut off and added to Bihar by the executive order

of an alien Government, which, baulked of its desire to weaken the growing nationalism in Bengal in one direction, hit on a second device to achieve its object. Protests by the people affected, statements issued by Bihar leaders of the day, resolutions adopted in successive sessions of the Indian National Congress and of the Bengal Provincial Conference, the unanimous trend of enlightened political opinion throughout India, all testify to the incontestable justice of the claim to reunite the sundered parts of the parent Province. Yet strangely enough, on the advent of freedom and the end of the alien rule, that claim is sought to be side-tracked as inopportune and smacking of provincial narrow ness. It is a melancholy evidence of how much we have shrunk in moral stature and integrity since the glorious days of the annulment of the partition of Bengal. What a sad

What a sad contrast between the attitude of the Bihari leaders in 1912, who unhesitatingly advocated the transfer of the Bengali speaking tracts in Bihar to Bengal and that of the present generation, which indulges in threats, denunciation and chauvinistic sabre-rattling to nullify the generous sentiments of

their predecessors. Freedom will be a meaningless abstraction if it does not bring in its wake a more just and generous national policy, if it does not offer unrestricted scope for self-determination, if it does does not work for the creation of homegeneous provinces which, while economically

self-sufficient and developing along their own lines, will grow strong and thereby add to the strength of the Indian Union of which they are component parts. Unfortunately the present tendency seems to be towards an accentuation of narrowness and rigidity of outlook.

Congress has unequivocally accepted the principle of the self-determination of provinces on a linguistic basis and has embodied it in its election manifesto of 1945. The present reluctance there-fore to put into eflect its solemn declaration of policy is to say the least of it, curiously inexplicable and belies the noble tradition for which Congress stands. There is a hush-hush policy about the practical implementation of the principle which is sure to cause suspicion and resentment. The only explanation vouchsafed so far is that the time is not ripe for such action, as it would inflame provincial hostility and add to the tension of an already overcharged atmosphere. Let us analyse at some length this alleged excuse of inopportuneness. It implies an admission that Congress has no strength to enforce a just and equitable readjustment of boundaries between two sister provinces which are part of the same Union.edi

This surely underestimates the great hold that the Congress exercises over the mass mind in every province. If Pandit Jawaharlal uses a a tenth part of the persuasive power he displayed in quelling the communal disturbances in Bihar provoked by the Noakhali atrocities in Bengal, if Mahatmaji just waves the tip of the magical wand by which he restored coinmunal harmony out of the seething turmoil in Calcutta, I am sure Bihar which is famous for her loyalty to Congress principles will gladly relinquish her hold on areas to which she has no legitimate claim. Sj. Rajendraprosad, the President of the

Indian National Congress, who is a devoted follower of Mahatmaji and whose main task is to espouse Congress ideals and translate them into reality, would have been better employed in persuading his province to give up what does not belong to her instead of urging her to prop up a a weak and tottering pretension by an artificial effort to diffuse Hindi in a predominantly Bengali-speaking area. It was not by these means that Congress became the great organisation that it is to-day and it is not by these tactics that Congress may expect to retain its hold on the future ages.

It is surpassingly strange that while readjustments of boundaries have either been sanctioned or confidently expected in respect of other provinces, a grim mysterious silence is allowed to hang over the claims of Bengal. Seraikela and Kharswan have been provisionally taken away from Bihar and merged in Orissa. That at any rate shows that the times are not inopportune for such a transfer. Bihar's frantic protests have been respected in the promised appointment of a tribunal to adjudicate between the rival claims of the two provinces. But strangely enough, the possibility that Bengal also might have a say in the matter has been completely overlooked. Bihar, in her claims on. Seraikela, has displayed the true neighbourly spirit in seeking the collabortion of Bengal in resisting the counter-claims of Oris a. The neighbourly spirit was perhaps evoked by the fact that Bengal's contribution to the total figure was 30 p. c. while that of Bihar was only 3. We, however, welcome this collaboration of forces and hope that the partnership will be carried as long as the requirements of justice dictate, and that the principles invoked in establishing Bihar's claim on

these states will also be applied in determining the claims of Bengal on areas now incorporated in Bihar. The announcement in the papers that Andhra will be carved out of Madras and constituted into a separate province from April 1948 further weakens the plea of inopportunness put forward in shelving the consideration of the case of Bengal. add

The justice of the claim put forward on behalf of Bengal does not admit of a moment's doubt. The main question on which the conference should concentrate is the devising of means to enforce this eminently just and reasonable demand. Mass opinion both in Bengal and Bihar must be fully mobilised for the attainment of the object. It has been reported that in some of the areas in Behar, coercion and intimidation are being resorted to, to prevent free expression of opinion on the part of the Bengalee residents.

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

this campaign of terrorisation must cease and we must be prepared to refer our case to impartial adjudication and accept the verdict however unpalatable it may be to either of the contesting parties. We have acquiesced in the perverse and iniquitous Radclifle Award; surely an award by our own Government which is bound to be more just and fair should find us in a more complaisant mood. It is a great pity that the task of organising opinion in support of the movement has fallen on a comparatively young organisation like New Bengal Associatian, It would have been more in the fitness of things that the Bengal Congress, which both officially rules the province and unofficially moulds public opinion should

have come forward to assume the leadership. But strangely enough the response of the Congress as a body and of individual congress leaders has been halting and half-hearted. This shyness and reticence, bred perhaps out of a feeling of uncertainty about the attitude of the Congress High Command, do not seem to have had much effect upon the provincial Congress leaders in Bihar and Orissa. They have jumped into the fray to safe-guard the vital interest of their respective provinces and have not set much store by the interpretation of their activities by the Centre. This, I venture to submit, is an eminently correct attitude. Provincial leadership should not be entrusted to people who have not the courage to advance the interest of their own province and who passively wait for a lead from the higher authorities. Leaders in the province should sometimes aspire to lead, instead of being always led, let us hope not invariably by the

nose. They should correctly apprise the Central Government of strong, explosive feelings prevalent in the provinces and urge them to appropriate action before an explosion is precipitated. It is a very sad thing to say that with the exception of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, and the President of the Hindu Mahasava, no front-rank politician has come forward to champion the cause of Bengal, a cause which constitutes a vital condition of her very survival as a provincial unit. Let us hope that this tarrying behind argues no indecision or weakness of nerves, but a waiting for the rallying of forces and the advent of the auspicious moment. We expect that the Congress will behave as she had done in respect of the partition of Bengal, that she will come last but when she comes she will bring

overwhelming force along with her. It is in this hope that we take it upon ourselves to launch the campaign for building a better, a richer and more homegeneous province of Bengal. I am quite sure that worthier people will step along the trail we have blazed and assume final responsibility for conducting the campaign to a successful issue. In the meantime we would earnestly appeal to every son and daughter of Bengal and of Bengal beyond her present boundaries who are convinced of the justice of our cause, to swell our rank and to effectively organise public opinion, until it acquires the momentum of an irresisdtile avalanche that will sweep away all obstruction from its path of progress and inevitable triumph.

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(Passed on 25th January, 1948, at a Conference at Ashutosh College omol Hall, Calcutta. on the amalgamation of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar roger Hula oiladiga and Orissa with West Bengal Province).outlet obr vistaibemmi se od blooda

1. This Conference of the representative organisations of Bengal and of the representatives of Bengalee Associations and delegates from the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar, resolve that for cultural and linguistic consideration as well as in fulfilment of the pledge contained in the Congress Election manifesto of the 11th December, 1945, the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar and Orissa viz. the, District of Manbhum, and the sub-divisions of Dhalbhum, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal and that portion of Purnea which is to the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and Katihar-Manihari Road and the state of

Seraikela, and other similar areas should be forthwith amalgamated with West Bengal
Province.

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
2. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly to appoint a Delimitation Commission for giving effect to the foregoing resolution as early as possible.
3. This Conference urges on the Cabinet of West Bengal Government the Ja immediate necessity of taking appropriate action to secure at an early date the amalgamation of the Bengali-speaking tracts as mentioned in resolution No. 1 with West Bengal
Province on cultural and linguistic basis.
odj
4. This Conference authorises New Bengal Association to take all necessary action to secure the reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas now in Bihar and Orissa with
West Bengal Province, in collaboration with the Bengalee-Association of Bihar and other
interested bodies of Bihar and Orissa and the principal social and political organisations of
the West Bengal Province.
5. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly that none of the rights and privileges at present enjoyed by the tribal people in the Bengali-speaking areas
under special Regulations may be in any way touched after their amalgamation with
West Bengal Province. 90101
BLACK-LISTING OF HOMESICK BENGALEES IN BIHAR.
(Copy
of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a fascimile
blow, of which was published in the press on 29th January 1948.)
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Ref. Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.
Sub.-Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to
work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in west Bengal.
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You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo.
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Bengali-Speaking areas in Six Districts of Bihar claimed by
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MAYURBHANJ
Siva
Department of Geography
Calcutta University:
BURDWAN
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Present boundary between Bengal and Bihar is shown by thick dotted line up to Purnea in the North.
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Printed at the Vedic Press, Limited, 34, Mohim Halder Street, Calcutta.
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JUNGLETERRY
DISTRICT:
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BIRBOOM; RAJEMAL, BOGLIPOUR &e:
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Situated between Moorfhedabad
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HELIOZINCOGRAPHED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, CALCUTTA,
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To
The HONORABLE
WARREN HASTINGS Esq
GOVERNOR GENERAL
of the
BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
This MAP of
BENGAL & BAHAR,
(Comprehending a Tract more extenfive &
populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed
In Teftimony of his DISTINGUISHED ABILITIES
And in Gratitude for Favours Received;

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Meridian of Calcutta
Published according to Act of Parliament.by J Rennell. May 25.
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BRITISH POSSESSIONS in ASIA
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(Comprehending a Tract more extenfive &
populous than the BRITISH ISLANDS)
Is respectfully Inscribed
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And in Gratitude for Favours Received;
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Meridian of Calcutta
Published according to Act of Parliament by J Rennell. May 25.
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PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P.L.O.)
95-C

Page - 98
for (96
1/59
XXXXXXXXXX
1, Queen Victoria Road,

29th March 1948.
Dear Sir,
Please refer to your D.O. No. 9061 C dated
the 16th March 1948, addressed to the Hon&ble Dr.
Rajendra Prasad and its reply from the Private
Secretary, Shree Chakradhar Sharanji, a copy of which
I am
I am enclosing for your ready reference.
sending herewith the memorandum submitted by Mr.
S.K. Ganguly, President New Bengal Association, 27-B,
Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. As we have got no
spare copy of the memorandum and its enclosure, I am
directed to request you to kindly return the memoran-
dum and its enclosure after getting a copy made for
your own use.
The Hon'ble Mr. S.K.Sinha.
Thanking you,
Yours faithfully,
25/3748
(Nandkumar)
Personal Assistant to H.P.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
97
Council House
12
1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi, the 29th March 1948.
Dear Mr. Ganguly,
Would you kindly refer to your letter
dated the 25th February 1948, to the Hon'ble President
of the Constituent Assembly regarding the Memorandum
drawn up by the New Bengal Association demanding the
amalgamation of Bengali speaking tracts of Bihar and
Orissa with West Bengal ? I shall be obliged if you

could send me another copy of the memorandum and the
enclosures, which were 7 in number.
Thanking you,
Yours faithfully,
M
25/3748
(Nandkumar)
Personal Assistant to H.P.
Shree S.K. Ganguly,
President, New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta 13.

Page - 100
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
President
Dr. K. Ganguly
27-B, CHITTARANJAN AVENUE
CALCUTTA-18
Phone Cal 198
67
Dated. 3.1.3.1948
Si Nand Kumar, 68/98) 13
1 Queen Victoria Rd.
Dear Srijante hand Humar,
Under a
Separate
Cover I have sent the memorandum
and six maps as desired by you
I have also sent for Dr Prasad, the
Resolutions passed, a
An appeal and also
Press.
eyes and interest
regouder to Panist Neben
A
Statement to the
I hope these will open your

you
in our cause.
Unhaffy Bengal wants some living space
The parin proje receipt
Your Smarely
SK
1/2. Ganguly

Page - 101
To
6899
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Madras, 3rd April 1948.
The President of the Indian National Congress.
Sir,
I am sending herewith a copy of the memorandum prepared by a committee, urging the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province and pointing out the undesirability of the immediate formation of Malabar district into a Province by itself. I am sure you will give the matter your serious consideration.
Yours truly,
3.4.48.
CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE.
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MEMORANDUM
Presented to
The Prime Minister of India,
The President of the Indian National Congress
and
The President and Members
of
The Indian Constituent Assembly
by

The Committee of Action appointed by
a Special Meeting of Malayalees
held at Madras
on the 25th January 1948,
(i) Urging the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province
and
(ii) Pointing out the undesirability of the immediate
formation of Malabar District into a Province by itself.
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MEMORANDUM
It is some time since the movement was started for constituting an Aikya Kerala Province comprising the States of Travancore and Cochin and the district of Malabar. The interests of Malayalees demand that the three units be linked together and made into an organic whole. The necessity for the formation of an Aikya Kerala Province is manifest. All are agreed on the need for taking immediate steps to effectuate that object. The Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, suggested the advisability of submitting an agreed scheme for the merging of Travancore and Cochin in the United Kerala Province. What Malayalees ought to strive for at this juncture is to present such a scheme for an Aikya Kerala Province.
2.
The Aikya Kerala Conference met at Trichur in April 1947. A representative gathering from Travancore, Cochin and Malabar voiced the claim for an Aikya Kerala Unión. His Highness The Maharaja of Cochin, the first Indian Ruler to grant responsible government, opened the Conference and gave his blessings to the proposal which was acclaimed by the people of Cochin. The State Congress of Travanocre was equally enthusiastic in its support. Of course there were difficulties in the way. No one had a clear picture of the framework of the future. Vague ideas of a sub-federal union filled the air. No one, again, had any notion of the constitutional position of the Ruling families in the new set-up; but every one was committed to the

principle of an Aikya Kerala Union though the details were to be worked out later.

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3. Full Responsible Government has since been granted to Cochin. Travancore is marching in the same direction; and to the State Constituent Assembly, the State Congress has been returned with an overwhelming majority. These developments, however, seem to have weakened the tempo of the movement for Aikya Kerala. It is against this background that the movement has been launched for the conversion of Malabar district into a Province by itself.
4. Those who press for the immediate formation of the district of Malabar into a new Province or State-to adopt the nomenclature of the draft constitution for the constituent units of the Union-do not appear to have envisaged the consequences of their hasty action. In the wise words of the Prime Minister of India, "when you cut anything that exists, every consideration has to be given so that confusion and chaos shall not occur. The matter should be viewed from the point of view of working it out carefully without causing the least disturbance but carrying the greatest amount of goodwill and agreement behind it." The question for anxious consideration is whether the District of Malabar may be separated immediately from the Madras Presidency and constituted into a State for the purpose of India's new constitution.
5. The signatories to this Memorandum are firmly of the view that it is inadvisable to press for the immediate formation of a Malabar Province without including Travancore and Cochin. The objections are:
(i) Malabar District at present lacks the essential requisites for the making of a modern province;
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(ii) the legitimate claims of Malabar to certain areas contiguous thereto should be determined prior to the formation of the Province;
(iii) the creation of a Malabar Province will retard the realisation of an Aikya Kerala; and
(iv) without an agreed scheme, it is inopportune to approach the Central Government with such separatist claims when they are pre-occupied with vital questions affecting the security of the Nation.
These objections will now be examined in their order.
6. The First objection: Malabar lacks the essential requisites of a modern Province.-The basic food-stuffs grown there cannot, as pointed out by the Premier of Madras recently, feed its people for more than four months in the year. It has no irrigation works, no power-generating projects and no technical or professional colleges. There are no heavy industries in the District. The means of transport between the different parts of the District are far from satisfactory. Medical facilities are utterly inadequate. Hardly any well-equipped hospital exists; and even the general headquarters hospital at Calicut which was planned years ago has not yet assumed any shape. Calicut, the headquarters of Malabar, lags behind in the matter of ordinary amenities of life. There is not even protected water-supply and no system of drainage for the town. The district is left entirely to the of nature. It is this state of semi-starvation and ill-health that mercy

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has created a fertile field for discontent and frustration. This pitiable position of Malabar is undoubtedly due to its having been long neglected. To show how Malabar's claims have been systematically ignored, it is sufficient to refer to two matters, food and education, which are vital for the well-being of any Province or State.
7. The primary need of any Province for its existence is food. Malabar, as already pointed out, has rice enough to last only for four months in the year. Nothing whatever has been done towards increas-

ing the productive capacity of Malabar. What should have been done was to form a net-work of irrigation works so that the hills and valleys of Malabar could be made to yield food in abundance, and its fields could be made into two-crop or three-crop lands; but Malabar's plentiful rainfall has been held out as the main excuse for its neglect. No one seems to remember that the rain which falls runs straight into the sea and that unless the rains are collected, stored and harnessed for productive purposes, the abundant water-supply from the skies is just wasted and thrown away, leaving nothing behind but a tale of soil erosion year after year. The standard of living in Malabar is lamentably low, and the common man is hardly able to eke out even a miserable existence. The people are admittedly intelligent but thousands of them have had to go outside to make a living.

8. Tamil Nad and Andhra have numerous irrigation works.

It is well-known that the Godavari and Kistna irrigation systems have converted the once famine-stricken districts of Godavari and Kistna into the granary of the Presidency. There are 56 major irrigation works in Tamil Nad and Andhra.

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Their capital investment

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exceeds 19 crores (which, computed at the present value of money,. will mount up to 60 or 70 crores in the least), and they annually irrigate about 4 million acres and serve almost all the districts of the Presidency except Malabar and South Kanara. Two gigantic schemes are now under way-the Thungabhadra scheme and the Godavari scheme popularly called the Ramapadasagar project. The Thungabhadra scheme is estimated to cost 10 crores for the Madras Government and the Godavari scheme 86 crores. The magnitude of the Godavari scheme is evident from the fact that preliminary investigation has been undertaken at a cost of 11 lakhs, and that five districts are to be served thereby. Nor can one ignore the minor irrigation works comprising the construction and maintenance of nearly 35,000 tanks and channels

irrigating about four million acres of land. It is noteworthy that Rs. 2 crores has been so far spent on the restoration of tanks alone. When the Food Minister of the Central Government recently visited Malabar he, observing the sad plight of the district, was constrained to remark that it had a legitimate grievance in respect of irrigation. The solitary irrigation work in Malabar is the small dam known as Vandithode anicut on which the Government have spent about Rs. 3,000!
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ebne 9. Turning to the field of education, it is hardly necessary to point out that the headquarters of the three existing Universities in Madras Province are located in Tamil Nad and Andhra, with all their constituent technical, engineering, medical, veterinary and other professional colleges. While illiteracy may not be so low in Malabar as in other districts, thanks to the still surviving system of ancient 'Ezuthupallis' (pial schools), Malabar has only two Government Arts colleges which have been recently raised to first grade. Technical

education has been totally neglected. None can deny that Malabar's claims have been ignored all these years. Indeed, Andhra and Tamil Nad have been the favourite sisters in the provincial family and Malabar its, Cinderella. What was a conspicuous centre of prosperity at the beginning of British occupation is now left in a frightfully impoverished state. The progress of the district has been completely retarded.
10. While many are insistent on immediate separation, few appear to have envisaged the necessity of having in hand the sums needed to erect the Secretariat buildings, the Legislative Chambers, the High Court, the University, the Colleges, the Hospitals and other departmental buildings and to provide the institutions with all the latest equipments. To build the headquarters of a Province needs planning and takes time.
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11. If, in its present woeful condition, Malabar has to start on its own as a full-fledged Province or State, it will not be able to stand the strain. Under the draft constitution, a constituent State must have a

Legislature, an Executive and a Judiciary conforming to certain standards of
pay and position. The Governor of a State has to be paid a
salary of Rs. 4,500/- a month, apart from allowances. The Legislature
is an expensive organ of the State. The High Court must have a
minimum of at least three Judges. The Chief Justice is given a pay
of Rs. 4,000/- and puisne Judge Rs. 3,500/- a month. The administrative establishments in connection with the various departments
have also to be provided for. The cost of administration will certainly
increase severalfold; and to meet such expenditure there is hardly
any new avenue of taxation. In such a state, there can be no

nation-building schemes, no social insurance and no social security. The
sponsors of the Malabar Province seriously suggest that all expenditure
could be met by borrowed money. But few can view this proposal
without dismay. Current expenditure must be met by current income;
and to raise loans for such a purpose is to court disaster. Borrowings
on a large scale for the purpose of capital outlay are equally perilous
to a new Province at the commencement of its journey. There can
be little doubt that with a depleted treasury and with slender revenues
there is hardly any prospect of making the budget balance; much less
can the Malabar State initiate any productive scheme or any plan of
social security. It may satisfy the sentiment of a few that Malabar also
is made into a Linguistic Province; but should sentiment over-ride
the paramount claims of the future prosperity and well-being of the
country?

12. The unfair treatment of Malabar in the past appears to be
the main argument of those who insist on the immediate creation of a
Malabar Province. Their impatience is understandable. But does
wisdom demand an immediate separation to set it on its feet in its present
anæmic state? There must be concerted action by the Malabar
representatives in the Legislature to get its wrongs redressed and to
make up for the time lost. A popular ministry must necessarily
effectuate the popular will, and popular demands must be voiced with
vigour and persistence to compel compliance. The Provincial Ministry

and the Central Government will not turn a deaf ear to the legitimate demands of Malabar, and if the District is given its due share of all the capital outlay in the presidency on irrigation schemes, power-producing projects, universities, colleges and governmental

buildings, it will be possible for Malabar to have all the requisites of a Province.

13. The Second objection: The need for the inclusion of certain adjoining areas which are really parts of Malabar.-Malabar, though only one of the twenty-five districts of the Presidency and in extent only about one twenty-third of the area of the whole Province, has one-twelfth of its population. Of all the districts of the Presidency, Malabar has the largest population. In density of population Malabar stands only second to Tanjore; but while almost all the land in Tanjore has been brought under the plough, in Malabar the cultivated portion is only half its entire extent; one can, therefore, understand that the inhabited parts of Malabar are more thickly populated than even the district of Tanjore. In fact we have no living space in Malabar. It is, therefore, necessary to consider whether certain areas contiguous to Malabar should not be added on to it before we can think of a separate Province for Malabar.

14. South Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris should legitimately form parts of the future Province of Kerala. Karnataka cannot have a preferential claim to South Kanara; for, there are more Malayalam-speaking persons in South Kanara alone than Kanarese-speaking persons in South Kanara and Coorg put together. Of the six taluks of South Kanara, Kasargod is inhabited mainly by Malayalees. The majority of people in the rest of South Kanara are Tulu-speaking and they have more in common with Malayalees than with the Kanarese. Their system of law is Aliyasanthana which is substantially the same as Marumakkathayam law obtaining in Malabar, with little or no difference. Tulu is not a written language; and the Tulus were using the Malayalam

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script for their writing. Coorgis number only a third of the population of Coorg and their language, Coorgi, is a mixture of Malayalam and Tulu. Coorg has no geographical contiguity with the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency. Coorgis have many racial characteristics similar to those of Malayalees. In these circumstances South Kanara and Coorg must form parts of the Kerala Province. To the Nilgiris, Tamils cannot lay any legitimate claim. In spite of the fact that Tamil was arbitrarily introduced into the district as the official language, the Tamil-speaking population does not exceed a third of the total population of the district. Gudalur taluk is predominantly Malayalam-speaking, and of the remaining two taluks of Ootacamund and Coonoor, Todas were the original inhabitants. They speak their own dialect. Badagas who are subsequent settlers from Mysore speak their dialect, a corrupt form of Kanarese which has nothing to do with Tamil. Tamil Nad has therefore no real claim to the Nilgiris. On the other hand, Kerala is rightly entitled to it. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary for the densely-populated district of Malabar to have Nilgiris so that the growing population of Malabar may have some room to expand. South Kanara, Coorg and the Nilgiris or at least the major sectors thereof must by all canons of linguistic and other considerations fall within the domain of a new Malabar Province. But until the picture is complete, it must indeed be rash to transform the Malabar district into a Province.

15. The Third objection: The immediate constitution of a Malabar Province is likely to delay the formation of an Aikya Kerala.- With the establishment of Responsible Government in Cochin and the prospect of its early realization in Travancore, the idea of an Aikya

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if
Kerala Union seems to have receded to the background in those States with the erstwhile supporters of the movement. The signatories to this Memorandum apprehend that a similar reaction might happen

in Malabar also if it is made into a Province. It is contended that if Malabar separates itself from Madras it will form the nucleus of a future Kerala Union. But the experience of the past does not permit of such facile optimism. Those who are entrenched in power are not likely to share it with others.

16. The Fourth objection: Without an agreed scheme it is not proper to approach the Central Government at the present juncture.— Nobody will deny that the need of the moment is to build, strengthen and consolidate the nation. North India has had bitter experience of religious communalism. Let us not in the South have in its place provincial and linguistic communalisms which are threatening to raise their ugly heads and which, if unchecked, will spell disaster to the Indian Union. India is passing through a grave crisis. Let us not by any means add to the difficulties of the Indian Union. It is for the people to present an agreed scheme of an Aikya Kerala Province and if they express themselves unequivocally in the matter, neither the Rulers of Travancore and Cochin nor the Indian Union will stand against their cherished goal.

17. The vital need for Malayalees is an Aikya Kerala, and it is not in their interests to separate Malabar from the Madras Province and immediately make it a new Province without waiting for Travancore and Cochin to come in.

MADRAS,
17th March 1948
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Page - 113
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Committee of Action.
I. Sri K. Kuttikrishna Menon, Government Pleader, Madras (Chairman).
2. P. Narayana Kurup, Advocate, Madras (Convener).
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3. Dr. K. C. Nambyar, Hon. Surgeon, Stanley Hospital, Madras.
4. Dr. P. K. M. Raja, Surgeon and Physician, Madras.
5. Sri M. K. Nambyar, Bar-at-law, Madras.

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D. A. Krishna Variar, Advocate, Madras.
D. H. Nambudripad, Advocate, Madras.
O. T. G. Nambyar, Advocate, Madras.
9. Major M. A. Nair, Ophthalmic Surgeon, Madras.
İO.
Sri A. K. Pillai, Bar-at-Law, Madras.
II.
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د,
K. P. Ramakrishna Iyer, Advocate, Madras.
mib ads o
K. C. Nambyar, Electrical Engineer, Madras.
13. B. C. Vergheese, Journalist, Madras.
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abead you
K. P. Gopala Menon, Retired High Court Judge, Trivandrum.
N. Gopala Menon, Advocate, Madras.
M. Narayana Menon, M.L.C., Advocate, Palghat.
PRINTED AT THE DIOCESAN PRESS, MADRAS (P.I.C. NO. Q.H. MS. 5)-1-4-1948-C7035

PA to HP
112
79
1,Queen Victoria Road,

New Delhi, April 3, 1948.
Dear Mr. Ganguly,
15
Thank you very much for your
letter dated the 31st March 1948. I
have also received the memorandum
and six maps sent by you under a
separate cover.
Yours sincerely,
314148
(Nand Kumar)
Shree S.K. Ganguly,
President, New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue,
Calcutta 18.

Page - 115
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AT O
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DEPART
PENSE
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INDIA
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Page - 116
#7
Government of Bihar
Political Department
(Special Section)
D.O. No.1049°C.
My dear Nand Kumarji,
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Patna, the 3
April, 1948
76
I am desired to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of
a copy of the memorandum submitted by the New Bengal
The Hille
Association to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, sent with your .e.
letter of March 29, 1948 addressed to the Hon'ble the
Prime Minister, Bihar. The memorandum and its endlosure
will be returned to you after having its copy made.
Yours Sincerely
Joh
(R. S. Fande)
Special Officer
To
Sri Nand Kumarji,
Personal Assistant to Hon'ble the President,
Constituent Assembly of India,
1, Queen Victoria Road,
NEW DELHI

Page - 117
The Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon, Dist. Thana.
To
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Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
17
President, Indian Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi.
イフ
Dear Sir,
Subject :- Constitution of Maharashtra on
linguistic basis.
I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the
resolution passed by the * Umbargaon Village Panchayat at its
general meeting held on 25th March, 1948 for your kind perusal

and necessary action.
"In order to make the Dominion of India strong and powerful, it is essential that her constituents should be harmonious-wholes and the same principle underlies the demand for constitution of Provinces on linguistic basis". And hence this Village Panchayat opines that Maharashtra should be so constituted immediately".
Umbargaon,
Dist. Thana.
Dated 6th April 1948.
Encl.:- 1
I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
B.K.Ka
Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon.

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Received a letter from the Sanyukta Maharashtra Parishad Karyalaya, Poona dated 25th February, 1948. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the resolution unanimously adopted by the Village Panchayat, Umbargaon.
78
With a view to acquainting you with some of the details of the Umbargaon Taluka which is situated at the north-most part of Maharashtra and beyond which, stretches the Province of Gujarat, according to my personal opinion, I am giving below some statistical figures which will speak for themselves. There are about 78 villages in the Umbargaon Taluka, and the population, according to the Census of 1941 is 90,000 and the Warlis (Adivasis) who are the original inhabitants of this Taluka and whose mother-tongue is pure Marathi, would number about 58,000. The remaining 32,000 comprise the Marathi-speaking civilised Zamindars, Sawkars and Gujarathi speaking

Banias, Parsis and Mahomedans etc.
There is every possibility of a movement to be started
by the well off Gujarathi people to have this Taluka included
in the Province of Gujarat as the District of Surat lies very
near to it.
Finally, I wish to draw your attention to the important
fact that out of 90,000 nearly 70,000 people have Marathi as
their mother-tongue and hence it is earnestly requested that
this Taluka, should, under no circumstance
included in the Province of Gujarat.
be allowed to be
Umbargaon,
Dist. Thana.
614
Dated 6 April 1948.
B.K.Karuhn
Sarpanch, Village Panchayat,
Umbargaon.

Page - 119
From:-
To:-
Sir,
117
19
The President,
Kopargaon Town Municipality,
Kopargaon,
Dr. Rajendraprasad, Esquire,
18
President, All India Congress Committee.
No. 288 of 1948.
Kopargaon, 9-4-1948.
I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of
Resolution No. 4 passed at the adjourned Special General
Meeting held on 30-3-1948 in connection with the formation
of United Maharastra on linguistic basis.
Your obedient servant,

1 Mrs. Shakulala Borde
914145
President,
Kopargaon Town Municipality,
Kopargaon.

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A copy of the Resolution No. 4 passed at the adjourned
Special General Meeting held on 30-3-1988 at 5 p.m.
Resolution No. 4.
****
" This meeting is of opinion that on linguistic basis
the Province of the United Maharashtra should be an independent
unit and one copy of the same should be sent. "
True copy,
Mr.
Proposed by/C. D. Kahar.
Seconded by Mr. G.B. Kahar.
Passed unanimously.
2. Mrs. Shakuntils Borde
914148
President,
Kopargaon town Municipal' ty,
Kopargaon.

Page - 121
REGISTERED POST
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D.O.No.10938
C.
Government of Bihar.
Political Department..
Special Section.

My dear Nand Kumar Babu,
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PATNA,
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6th April,
Patna, the lath April, 1948.
In continuation of my domi-official letter no.
109040 dated the 3rd April 1948, I am desired to return,
with thanks, the copy of the memorandum submitted by the
New Bengal Association along with its enclosures, which
was received with yout letter dated the 29 th March 1948
addressed to the Hon'ble the Prime Minister of Bihar.
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espupes
Yours sincerely,
(R.S.Pande)
10/4140
Special Officer, Political Department.
To
Sjt. Nand Kumarji,
Personal Assistant to the
Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President Constituent Assembly,
New Delhi.
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TO
Brigadier General
RICHARD SMITH,

This MAP is Inscribed
By his most obed. Sert
J. Rennell.
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Published according to Act of Parliament. by J. Rennell, June 1779
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General Secretary.
New Bengal Association,
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue.
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9. Burbazzoo.
10. Shilberis.
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Note on distribution
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Page - 131
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All India League of Linguistic Provinces
Desabhakta
Konda Venkatappayya Pantulu,
Unnava Lakshminarayana, Bar-at-law,
N. V. L. Narasimha Rao,
M. A. (Hons.), LL. B., Bar-at-law,
G. V. Subba Rao, Goshti', Bezwada,
Conveners.
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17th April 1947
Dear Dr. Rajendra Babu:
BEZWADA,
I enclose here with a copy of my views on
the Linguistic Provinces' question. I shall be
grateful if you can please peruse the same and,
both as a member of the Interim Government and
the President of the Cons ambly, do the needful
in the matter.
Yours sincerely,
G. v. Subbakan

To
Hon'ble Dr.Rajendra Prasad,
Member,
Govt. of India,
NEW DELHI.
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PROVINCIAL REGROUPING IN INDIA & HOW TO ACHIEVE IT.
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(By G.V. Subba Rao, All-India League of Linguistic
Provinces, Bezwada)
The re is general agreement that the present division of the country in india into Provinces and States is unscientific and unsuited for our present conditions or future needs; and it has been equally accepted that this re-distribution should follow a cultural and linguistic principle as far as possible.
Among those who have been asking for separate Provinces for themselves are the Andhras, Tamils, Keralas, Kannadigas, Maharashtras, and Gujeraties; and now there is a demand for dividing Bengal and the Punjab also, on communal grounds more or less. The inter-linking of the States and their adjoining British Indian territories is an allied problem; but under terms of the Cabinet Mission's Scheme dated 16-5-46 and the subsequent pronounce.
eurements of the several British authorities on the subject, including the Attlee declaration of 20-2-47, it is wise not to refer to it here at this stage.
So far as the redistribution of British Indian Provinces is concerned, the learned authors of the Simon Report, as early as 1930, had declared that:
"As long as the Government of india was entirely centralised and both the administration and finances of any area were provided and directed from the centre, the time taken by a Provincial boundary was of lesser importance. But now that the Provinces have real political existence of their

own, the situation is changing and it is extremely important that the adjustment of Provincial boundaries and the creation of proper Provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. unce the mould has set, any maldistribution will be still more difficult to correct. We, therefore, propose, and we regard it as a matter of urgent importance, th at the Government of india should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral chairman which would investigate the main cases in which Provincial re-adjustment seems called for." (Vol. II, Page 26).
According to the scheme outlined in the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16th 1946, the Provinces, will, to a large extent, be autonomous units, exercising all Powers, except those reserved to the Union. It will, therefore, be necessary to frame the constitution in such a way as to make it acceptable to the Provinces to the largest extent possible; otherwise, it may not work smoothly," says Sir B. Rao
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work smoothly," says Sir B.N. Rao in his circular Notes to the
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members of the Constituent Assembly.
But it is not the need for
new Provinces, is now in question; it is the how of it rather that is to be considered urgently.
The popularly accepted belief is, that new Provinces in india can be established through the Constituent Assembly.
But without going into the reasons why it will be safe to assume that that Assembly has no power to grant away any new Provinces before 1-7-48; and subsequent to that date, whether, in its other pressing pre-occupations, it can then tackle this question for a number of years, is more than one can say at present. In other words, to hope for getting these new Provinces through the Consambly within the next 3-4 years seems extremely

problematical. On the other hand, there is the view of Sri Sir B.N. Kao that it may be con tend ed that the creation of new Provinces is inconsistent with the Cabinet Delegation's statement of May 16th;" and there is also his alternative recipe for forming what he calls "Sub-Provinces" divisions wherever necessary. This view of Stt B.N. Rao seems to be gaining ground so far as the congress High Command is concerned; and if accepted by the Cons ambly, it may mean that there will be no new Provinces at all for another 13-14 years perhaps, 1.e. till the first revision of the New Constitution after a decade from its start according to the Cabinet Mission's scheme itself.
art,
or mere administrative
But what is the alternative now? For those who require new Provinces immediately, in Andhre, Tamil, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharastra, Gujarat, or in East Punjab or West Bengal?
with.
Here, it will be necessary to remember that, under the Government of India Act, 1935, which is the ruling statute at present in the country, the Power to create new Provinces or changing the existing boundaries now vests With His Majesty, the King Emperor, who can exercise the same through what is called an "Order in council" on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India. Under the present conditions, I opine, that that
is the only way to establish new Provinces

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in the immediate future.
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It may appear as somewhat anamolous that in these days, one should suggest a remedy through the Secretary of State; but, it bears repeti ti on that the law in force toda y is the Government of India Act, 1935; and the key to these new Provinces still lies

in London, and th now there is no go except to get it from Abraod.
If, however, it is considered that the Secretary or State
should be spared this bother at present, then, the Pawers under
the said Sec.290 which are now vested in him may be transferred
to the Viceroy or the Governor General in Council during the
interim period. The present negotiations between the viceroy
and Indian leaders are bound to result in a number of relaxations
of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, in favour
of india; and I suggest that this authority, under the Sec.290
of the Act, is one such to be most urgently transferred.
Nor
can His Majesty's Government, during the interim period, absolve
themselves from their own responsibility in the matter. During
the war period, the authority of the Rex itself was transferred
to the Viceroy to meet an emergency; and it is hoped that the
Parliament will not shirk from ané amendment of the Statute
at present to suit the wishes and needs of the crores of our
people in this country.
The question of redistributing Provinces in India was consider-
ed to be extremely important and urgent even in 19 30; and it is
hoped that no spoke shall be raised in the wheel of their forma=
tion in the year of Grace 1948 atleast.
During the recent war years, a plea of war-emergency was raised
to thwart bur people from their desired new Provinces; and now
that the war is over long ago, and the country is about to get a
new constitution, it is but fair and reasonable that no further
excuses shall be found for hindering our people from their long-
cherished realisation.
One word more, and it is about the need to satisfy the
wishes and provide for the needs of the crores of our country-
men who have been worshipping at the shrine of these new Pro-
vinces, on the eve of our securing our Freedom. Andhras,

Kannadi gas and many others have suppressed their separate enti-

ties and aspirations in their fight for freedom for all India,
all these years. And on the coming "Q"-Day, or 1--7--48, when the
whole of India shall rejoice on the attainment of her National
Independence, shall we allow the multi-million masses of our
Andhra, Tamil, Kerala, Karnataka, Maharastra, Gujarat and even
Pengal and the Punjab-people to go depressed at the nonachiev-
ment of their own separa te states, as members of autonomous Units
in a free, Federal, Soverign Republic of India?
Mind, the day of rejoicing for all India shell not be
allowed to be marred by the frustra ti on of those in this country
who have been aspiring for new Provinces for themselves and
who are now determined to have them also.
G. V. Subbahan

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PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY OF INDIA,
Recd. en
4 MAY 1947
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motion of Linguistic Provinces & our
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Amit
The Madris Legislature hes once again resolved in favour of linis
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ic vinces in this Presidency and has requested the constituent
Assembly to appoint a Boundaries Commission etc. for the purpose. But
it seems doubtful whether the constituent Assembly has got the nccess-
ary power to do it at present. In any cage, it is fairly certain that
it is the secretary of State alone under section 290 of the Government
of India ct, 1935, who can set in motion the necessary proceedings
in the direction. The duty of the Madras Government and of all those

who need such new Provinces immediately, therefore, is obvious.
is to press the Secretary of State to transfer the powers vested in
him under the said Section 290 to the Interim Government, so thet
imme is testeps may be taken for completing the preliminaries of these
new provinces before the new Constitution will be inaugurated next
ated
year. In view of the recommendations of the Simon Commission which
strongly favoured the creation of proper Provincial boundaries before
f rming the Federal Structure, end of the basis of the Cabinet Scheme
of 16----1946, according to which the Central Union enjoys but limited
euthority and all the powers of administration, including its residuary
powers, are vested in Provinces, it is imperatively necessary that pro-
er Provincial regrouping is effected before the All-Indis Union is
for med. Latest súvices from Delhi and Lond on ini ate an early revision
of the Government of India et, 1935, as a result of the teaks which
Lord Mountbatten ia now having with the Indian le ders. I, therefore,
suggest that those interested in these Linguistic Provinces will lose
no time to make immediate representations to the Provincial Governors,
11.. the Viceroy and to the British Government for effecting necess-
ary changes in the Government of India Act, 1935, in this mitter
ithout any further delay.
Jez W 8C 8,
28--4--1947.
(0.v. Subpe Rao)
GV. Subbaka

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Linguistic Provinces and the Pattabhi Committee Reports
Criticism by the Andhra Branch of the All India
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League of Linguistic Provinces.
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it a meeting of the Andhra #ranch of the All-India Leggie of
Linguistic Provinces, the question of formation of Linguistic Pre-
vinees, the question of formation of Lingistic Provinces vis-avic-

tons ti tuent Assembly was considered and the following
adopted unanimously.
the pre
PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENT
AG EMBLY OF INDIA,
6 JUL 1947
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Linguistic Provinces:
Nr. 1622 147. the lesion of the formation of Linguistic rovinces gene-
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and of the Andhra rovince in particular, after a thorough
examination of the entire position and careful scrutiny of the re-
commendations of the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee, as reported in papers,
the meeting resolved to record its opinion ss follows:--
1
I. Principle of Linguistic Provinces:- This meeting notes with re-
the Constituent Assembly whats-date.
gret the inability (to incorporate the main principle underlying
the demand of these culturel and linguistic provinces as part and
parcel of the Fundamental objectives of the new Constitution, es
suggested by a meeting of the All-indie Lengue on 17-1-47; and now
that the fundamenta 1 objectives of the new Constitution are themselves
under re-examinetion, owing to the adoption of the Mountbatten Plan,
this meeting requests the authorities of the Constituent Assembly to
make good that omission,so as not only to satisfy the wishes of an
overwhelming number of the people of the country, but especially to
provide a proper and stable basis for the units of the new Indian
Union.
II. Dr. Pattabhi Committee report:--
As regards the recommendations of the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee,
while taking note of the great sympathy shown by the Committee with the
cause of these linguistic Provinces end their snxietyfor expediting
the creation of such provinces as far as possible, this re eting at
the seme time, deems it its duty to make the following observations:
(1) The Sub Committee did not make any recommendation for a al eer
and unequivocal acceptance of the main principle und lying the demand
for these cultural and linguistic provinces, which has been endorsed

by the last congress election Manifesto also end whichworld go a long way to assuage the feelings of the People concerned.
(2) The meeting views with surprise that even the cases of and hrs,

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Tamil Haid,Maharastra, Gujerat and Karnataka, which have been in demand for a long time past em widely accepted, and in see cases,re--commended also repeatedly by the concerned Legislatures and even Governments should be now asked to submit their cases of fitness before
1
a Commission of Enquiry.
(3) And that, in entrusting the appointment of such a Commissi on to the would-be Dominion Government, the very purpose of the creation and enumeration of these new Provinces in the Constituent Act as under the Sections 46 and 289 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which both the Sub-Committee and the advocates of these new #rovinces have got at heart may become frustrated, especially because, as has been reported, the Union Constitution is almost rondy end, in al probability, may be adopted during the ensuing session itself of the constituent Assembly.
III. Ine Lene's recommendations:
-n view of the above and inorder to rectify these defects and make the recommendations of the Sub-Committee truly effective and fully acceptable to the People of the concerned Provinces, this meeting resolves to submit the following recommendations to the Constituent Assembly, its concerned committees and the Dr. Pattabhi Sub-Committee for their consideration and adoption.
(1) A clear acceptance of the main principle underlying the demand of these cultural and linguistic Provinces, as a basis for our future indien Union.
(2) In case of Provinces of proved fitness like Andhre and Tamil Nadd etc. to remove them from the scope of any enquiry into fitness, and to sccept the same as provincial entities forthwith end proceed to their enumeration in the Ste tute immediately end to implement

the decision by appointing the necessary Boundaries and Partition Committees therefor.
(3) Not to allow the question to be decided by the Dominion Government at some future date, but to decide the same before the new Indian Union Constitution is taken up for consideration by the Constituent Assembly.
(4) In view of the controversies raised, in certain quarters, regarding the future of Madras and Bombay cities this meeting f considers that the question may be considered properly by the

(8)
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Committee and the Joint Committee along with the wider ques of the new Frovinces em a suitable fomula devised in the best interests of all the concerned people and of the Nation as a whole.
(5)
In view of the acceptance of the Mount batten Plan and the move consequently of some of our states to declare their Independence, this meeting most strongly urges upon the authorities of the Com ti-tuent Assembly that it mes now become all the more imperative and urgent to create these most cherished homogeneous Provincial Units immediately and to equip them withsde que te finences as wellas defence arrangements, so as to enable them to take their proper and legitimate place in the future defence and governance both of themselves and of the Realm.
(8) In regard to the controversy regarding the scheme of Sub-Provinces, as suggested by sir B.H. Rao, this meeting, considers thr, as the very basis of the Cabinet Mission's scheme has itself been changed by the mount batten Plan, there can now be no longer any question of this Linguistic Provinces issue becoming ultra vires of the Consti tudata-b Assembly; and that, therefore, the questionof eny such interim arrangement as has been suggested therein,,need not be raised, or considered now, except for such small or backward areas as cannot be cons titted immediately into a new fronce.

(7) Themeeting endorsed the Notes on Linguistic Provinces
and the Andhra Province prepared by Mr. G.V. Subua Rao and reolved
to forward the same to the authorities of the Constituent Assembly.
(8) The meeting empowered its Working Committe to prepare s
Memorandum, incorporating the above views and send a dept ation, if
necessary to the concerned authorities.
(9) The meeting also exhorted the Public of Andhra dess to m
urgent representations to the President of the Constituent Assem
(New Delhi) urging the formation of an Andhra Province immediately.
Везната
2-7-47
Forwarded to Honblen
Dr. Rajendra Prasad
(Authorised Cons
V. Subbafl
Convener of the mat
General secretary, Al
League glinquistic

Page - 140
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All India League of Linguistic Provinces
Desabhakta Konda
Venkatappayya,
Reception Chairman.
Fele
Dear
Dear Babu Rajendra Prasad
Guntur,
PRESIDENT, CONSTITUENB0th April, 1947.
ASSEMBLY OF INDIA,
Recd.on
4 MAY 1947
841/47...
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When I last visited Delhi, in the
197

first week of March, I couldnot enjoy the pleasure of meeting you, as you were there absent from the City. I now write this to make of you a special request, which, I hope, you will kindly accept.

You knew the question of re-distribution of provinces on a linguistic and cultural basis has been agitating the country for many years past. And the principle has not only been accepted by the Congress but has been practically adopted by it in having formed linguistic provinces throughout India. It is also a recognised fact that this division of provinces on linguistic basis has immensely helped the National movement and has been mainly responsible for the great awakening among the masses, without which the Congress would not have been what it is to-day. Now that the Constituent Assembly is busily engaged in the framing of a Constitution for India, it is essential that this question of linguistic provinces should be accepted by the Constituent Assembly and a suitable provision should be incorporated in the Constitution for the re-division of pro-

vinces in the country.

Probably you are aware that a League of Linguistic Provinces was formed here last year; and the inaugural meeting proposed to be held in January last could not be held for some unavoidable reasons. It is now decided to hold the meeting in Madras on the 12th of May, when you are also visiting the place. It will be in the fitness of things if you could kindly make it convenient to open the meeting.

Hoping that you will be good enough to accept this request.

With Kind regards,

P.S.

I may add that Dr.

Radhakumud Mukherje, M.A.
Ph.D., has kindly consented
to preside over the meeting.
Yours Sincerely,
Honda Venkatoffegge
Chairman, Reception Committee.
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My dear Dr. Sarala,
emier, Vindhya
Nowgong, May 281
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With this letter I am sending to you Shri Pita
Adhwaryu, my co-worker and one of the most prominent fig
in Praja Mandal circles in Vindhya Pradesh. Besides de
this letter he will also put forward our claim and he
kindly be regarded as representing me.
I invite your attention to the news publish
press regarding your letter to the Hon. Premier of A
inviting him to send up the names of three members fd
proposed Commission on linguistic basis. I e recei
such invitation and am writing this to put forward the ca
of Vindhya Pradesh forrepresentation on the said Commission.
It will be greatly appreciated by the people of this Pradesh
if a similar invitation is soon extended to us, and I hope and
trust you will please direct the rectification of the omis
With respects,
Dr. Shri Rajendra Prasad,
President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.
(k. P. Saxena

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REDISTRIBUTION
OF PROVINCES
CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S
LETTER TO PRERS
BOMBAY May 20 Di Rajendra
Prasad Congress President has

asked Mr B. G. Kher
Premier to recommend the names of
three
member for the
Bombay
commission to inquire into the re-
proposed
distribution of provinces on linguis-
tic areas in Pombay rainelv. Maha-
rasntra Ka ratak and Gujarat.
Mr Kher sc that the Congress
President hac addreed similar let-
ter to all provincial
to nominate he representative from
Premiers
each linguistic area on the proposed
commission
It 's
therefore, expected that the
personnel of the commission will be
ann.unced after all the provinces
have sent ther repies to the Con-
gress Presiceni --UPI.

Page - 146
Lingen
Ссыл
Dear Sir,
104.
141
11, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
24th June, 1948.
103
Your letter dated 28th May was received when
I was ill. So I could not attent to it before this.
A Commission has already been appointed and as it
has nothing to do with Vindhya Pradesh, we have not

asked you to nominate an associate member for it.
Bj. K.P. Saxena,
Premier, Vindhya Pradesh,
Nowgong.
Yours sincerely,
26
(Rajendra Prasad)

Page - 147
K. J. J0087. M. A. M. Litt.
JI
Jou wist.
Tel: Sreemathy. Phone: 3129
"Easwari Building
"
qa todo esto no. 7. Thana Street,
Purasawalkam, Madras, 7.-
ecote vo
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1942
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3rd. June. '48.
stige be lortho
theasg edf plete warbitiw dd
Dear Sir,
esciag 03/03
vidiezoq Illw any
I am sending per separate Post a
o acentos eft ex ob I .97008 Jadd no
"The Menace of
copy of a Memorandum on
isivore eaiwau sds to sauaood bed1b970sib ed
Linguistic Provinces in India vis-a-vis
spite odd mi
Sri Nad Province", which I have submitted
to the Prime Minister of India for favour of
ིག་
your kind perusal and sympathetic considera-

tion. My services are always at yur disposal
in an y matter connected with theis question.
I am also sending you a copy of
a letter the Editor of the "Hindu" on the
New Madras Ordinance.
Although my artcle is
in defence or the rainance, I disagree with
some of the unwise provisions in the Ordinance
as pointed out in the Memorandum of the subject
submitted to you by The Madras Civil Libert y
Eventhough I attended the working the
Committee of the Civil Libert y Union on Special
Invitation when the Memorandum was finalised, I
could not raise my voice in protest against
Union.

the condemnation of the other aspects of the
Ordinance. If the unwise provisions (the
Ordinance relating to Decontrol and Capitalism
are not withdrawn immediately the present
18 700
Madras Ministry
Jac9 odsrede reg
will possibly
will possibly go to peices
gat base me I
on that score. I don't like the congress to
to bonoM SAT "no muberome to v goo
be discredited because of the unwise provisions
alv-a-alv sibal ai eeonivori oldalugaid
in the Ordinance.
bestimde eved I doidw "I be i
to tuovat tot sibal Please go through my Memo-
- randum and do the needful in the matter of
Isso qe arresting the agitation in favour of the
.nolinguistic Province. oo odam y ha ni

to yq oo so and Thanking you=
edt no "ubaiH" od to
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si slots ym nguonA Yours sincerely wel
19.
Jiw Togeaib I ponsib
Bonsaibro Hon'ble .Dr. Rajendra Proasad,to emoa
osida sit President, me edd ni Juo beiniog as
vredil The Indian National Congress, indue
edt galoNEW DELHIets I quoddas v .Going
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Page - 149
Sir,
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THE NEW MADRAS ORDINANCE.
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The criticisms levelled against the Madras Ordinance II of 1948 are understandable to some extent since it is the civic duty of the public to point out the drastic provisions of such a draconian piece of law.
After-
While I do appreciate the anxiety of the public in regard to the Ordinance, the public also should realise the extraordinary circumstances under which such an Ordinance was issued by the Governor. all, it is the Executive who carries on the administration of the Province by initiating and implementing State policy. The Executive alone has got a first-hand knowledge of the over-all danger to the security of the State as expressed in and through the Communist troubles in the Province. A popular Government like the one in the Madras Province cannot be normally expected to ignore the feelings of the public with impunity. They dare not ride roughshod

over the precious liberty of the individual because it is politically suicidal to their best interests. So, the public must realise that the Madras Ministry would not have resorted to the promulgation of such a Governor's Ordinance under normal circumstances. Extra-ordinary situations call for extra-ordinary action on the part of the Government. A popular Ministry as the one we have in Madras would not have resorted to such an apparently high-handed procedure unless the situation eminently warranted it. Poison

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must be neutralised by poison, and any loss of time would prove fatal.
It is well known that the issue of the Ordinance was due to the abnormal situation lately created by the upheaval of Communist uprisings in several parts of the Province. Government must have found it virtually impossible to track down effectively those fugitives from justice who have been carrying on their nefarious activities from their places of hiding. So, if those who aid and abet such law-breakers are also brought under the purview of penal action, atleast some of these absconders could be eventually brought to book. Those Communist terrorists who have been deliberately creating unnecessary strikes in the province and who have been brazen-facedly indulging in an orgy of violence in several parts of the Province, should be arrested at any cost, even though it might technically impinge on the laudable ideal of the liberty of the individual. We should not, in an expansive mood, labour the point of freedom of the individual and the rights of the Judiciary when we ought to realise the supreme necessity of dealing with the Communist menace

effectively. If the Government and the Public unwittingly play bast and loose with Communists by a doctrinaire approach to the problem, Communists will sooner or later establish a dictatorship in the country and pawn India to Russia. They have got immense patience to wait for any length of time for achieving their objective. We know how much civil liberty will be left for the individual under such a political set-up.

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As Mr. Vizhinsky declared at the San Fransisco Conference, Soviet Russia does not expect tolerance from others and does not extend tolerance to others. So, our Communist revolutionaries in the Province should not naturally expect tolerance from the Government or from the Public since they know, in all conscience, that their ultimate aim is to subvert the present political and social order for setting up a dictatorship of the Soviet pattern. So, neither they nor their sympathisers and dupes need blame the Government for the strong arm of the law directed against them.

However, the unwary public who are brought up in the traditions of liberalism, will be ordinarily shocked to find that such a drastic action will probably lead to a steady deterioration of democracy and attrition of individual liberty. But we have to realise that under the clumsy and hair-splitting Anglo-Saxon system of law of evidence as obtaining in India, it is extremely difficult for the Executive to prove such cases in the courts of law. The Executive will feel a sense of frustration when bona fide cases against offenders are promptly thrown out in the courts of law for lack of evidence of the strictly formal variety. Hence the clever subterfuge on the

part of persons like Mr.N.M.Joshi by associating the terms "High Court" and "High Court Judge" in their subtle propaganda speeches to discredit the Executive. So, unless and until we change the system of law of evidence, preferably on the French model, we shall be obliged occasionally to seek refuge in extra-ordinary

legislation like Ordinance II. The time is too serious for us to indulge in meticulous discussions on legal technicalities and judicial proprieties. The matter has got to be tackled from the political point of view and from the view point of the security of the State. The policy of high Judicial personages indulging in tendencious talk about the relationship between the Executive and the Judiciary must also be strongly deprecated.

Similarly, another matter that ought to engage the attention of the public in this connection is the law-making powers of the Judiciary in India as expressed in the case law. Case law in India has often been carried too far, and it has become the happy hunting ground of clever lawyers and some busy bodies amongst the members of the Judiciary. Too much emphasis on case law has resulted in the colossal waste of time in the law courts. Lawyers vie with each other in flaunting their scholarship in case law before the Judge and the clients mainly for creating an impression! If the practice of quoting cases during arguments in law courts is given the go by in India, as in Russia, it will save a lot of time of the public. Then the Judges will be obliged to confine their attention to statute law and its interpretation in the light of the facts of the case. This will preclude the possibility of statube

law being placed under of the knife of the Judiciary.
Let the Judiciary interpret the law and not create law.
Let the representaties of the people make the law and
amend it if and when necessary.

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Under extra-ordinary circumstances like the
present one, even Ordinances like the Madras Ordinance'
II of 1948 should be welcomed by the public to a large
extent. After all, the Madras Legislature can later
on discuss it when it meets next and make suitable
changes if they are called for. Till that time, let
the Executive take effective steps to utilise the
provisions of the Ordinance to track down the culprits
who have been deliberately creating trouble for the
people and the Government by acts of lawlessness and
violence.
Madras.
1.6. 48.
(Tm copy)
Yous minnh
K. J. Jawa

Page - 154
H12
149
The Commission to consider the creation of new
provinces has been appointed and its associate members also
have been named. I think some remuneration will have to be
fixed for them. I should like to know what remuneration is
ordinarily paid to members of such Committees or Commissions
appointed by the Government of India in their various
ministries. A note on this point should be submitted to me
at an early date for consideration. One question might arise

in this connection which we should consider. Babu Jagat Narain Lal is a member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly as also of the Constituent Assembly. If anything in the nature of a monthly salary is to be paid to the other members of the Commission, he would naturally also get the same. Would he be entitled to get it and retain his seat as a member of the Provincial Assembly or will he be treated as a person holding an office carrying on a remunerative work under the Government and as such disqualified as a member of the Provincial Assembly ? If this disqualification attaches to him, it should be considered as to how he could be remunerated without incurring this disqualification. There may be some amongst the associate members who also will probably be in the same position and if a decision is taken, it will govern them also.
Secretary,
C.A.
Nagendrament
24/6/45

Page - 155
+13 (150) 17
Dear Sir,
117
Dehra Dun (U.P.).
13-6-48.
New
I have received your letter dated the 3rd June, together with your note on the Madras Ordinance and your Memorandum on the mencomende
Linguistic Provinces. I have read the letter with great interest and an forwarding it to the office of the Constituent Assembly of India to be placed before the Commission which has been appointed to go into the matter.
say,you are going to print the Memorandum, If that be so, you will send copies of the seme

to the Secretary of the Commission care of
as abo
Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi, for sny
premlation
bufm
further examination that you desire to make of
that commission.
As you
Yours sincerely,
Rr
(Rajendra Prasad)
Shri K.J.Jacob,M.A.Litt.,
"Easwari Building"
No. 7, Thane Street,
Purasawalkam, Madras 7.

Page - 156
H.P.
BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE ATS
President:
S. K. PATIL
Vice-President:
M. Y. NURIE
Gen/Secretaries :
S. L. SILAM
P. S. THAKKAR
Treasurer:
B. A. KHIMJI
H4-
157
No 2500/48
CONGRESS HOUSE
Vithalbhai Patel Road
Bombay-4.
26
Telegrams: "CONGRESS
Telephones:
(45211 (Ext.)

42956 (President)
Dated 15th June, 1948.
PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL.
CA
2
23/6

My dear Rajenbabu,

Very soon you will be appointing a Boundary Commission to examine and demarcate the areas of Karnatak and Maharashtra in case these have to be carved out into separate Provinces.

I do not know what are going to be the terms of reference for such a Commission. You, however, are fully conversant with the strong feeling which the City of Bombay has got on this question of separate Provinces. There are attempts to drag Bombay this way or that way. A considerable majority of this City is opposed to joining any separate Province thus created. In case Maharashtra and also Gujerat are created into separate Provinces, the City of Bombay would like to be a small Province by itself, either governed by a Provincial administration or centrally governed.

My only request to you at this stage is to keep the terms of reference so wide as not to preclude the possibility of the City of Bombay along with a few adjoining tracts to be created into a separate autonomous Province, in case the Commission comes to that conclusion.

I took the liberty of writing this letter so that the case of Bombay may not go by default.

by now.

Committee.

I hope you will not misunderstand me.

I am sure you must have improved your health

More when we meet in Delhi for the Working

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

defau

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Indian National Congress,
1, Queen Victoria Road,
NEW DELHI.
(S. K. PATIL.
KV/-

Page - 157
C.A
43
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27
114
1, Queen Victoria Road,
New Delhi.
23rd June, 1948.
My dear Patil,
I have received your letter dated 15th June
regarding the terms of reference and of the Commission
which I have appointed. I think, I have left the
terms of reference as wide as possible and left it
to the Commission to make any recommendation.
Yours sincerely,
R6
(Rajendra Prasad)
Sj. S.K.Patil,
President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee,
Congress House,
Bombay.

Page - 158
Lingus
Proven's
Comm
My dear
153
AGENT-

GENERAL
ET MOR
HYDERABAD
CH.
File 115
28-916
(camp) 26, Ridge Road,
Bombay, 25th June '48.
Rajendra Bah
Many thanks for your letter of the
16th of June 1948. I am glad to learn
that the terms of reference are wide
enough to cover the question of the City
of Bombay.
With kind regards,
Yours
Suil.
Ken Mannhe
Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, Constituent Assembly of
India
1, Queen Victoria Road, New Delhi.

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Greenivasa Rao presised
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yours truly
venter, Linguistic
Perovices League
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PRESIDENT,
CONSTITUENT
Babu Rajendra
Prasad
A MOLY OF President,
Intel
6 JUL 1947 Constituent Assembly
No... 1625/47
PCA
New Illin

Page - 160
Tekumalla Ramachandalas Manilifalinn
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M.ABL.,
ABX., Vakit 3 02/7/48155
Subject: – Andhra Province dimidiately
£43
File
бетанбей
As part of the Camfonien for creations linguist
provies, I have the honour to inform you
that at a meeting held in Khajjillipet, Manuli-
palens on 29-6-157a resolution bemanding
imeriatecreation & Andere provice
and other linguistic provices was urani-

Page - 161
Ps.cnf
السلم
C.A
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21/7/48 118
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
PRESS NOTE.
30
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly has issued the following press note:-
The attention of this Secretariat has been drawn to a news item circulated by a certain news Agency purporting to give an account of the proceedings of the first meeting of the Linguistic Provinces Commission held on July 19, The meeting, at which the Hon'ble the President of the Constituent Assembly was present, discussed only the programme of work of the Commission, and the desirability of issuing a questionnaire at an early date. The suggestion contained in the Agency report that the terms of reference of the Commission have been widened or that the Commission may also be entrusted with the task of readjustment of boundaries is incorrect and has no basis whatsoever.
H.R.G.
21.7.48
New Delhi,
July 21, 1948.

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157
119/
Copy of the letter from Shri Darab Cursetji Driver, President, Coal Consumers Association of India to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly, New Delhi dated 24th July, 1948.
31
I have addressed a letter dated 16th July 1948 to the Prime Minister, The Hon'ble Pandit Jewaharlal Nehru, suggesting a carving out of a new Province under the Centre covering (1) the major basic steel units in Singhbhum and Asansol and the coalfields of Jharia and Ranigunj as these two basic industries will be nationalised and (2) the State sponsored

and State owned Damodar Valley and Sindri schemes, the proposed thermal power houses in the collieries, Mihijam Locomotive Works and the Works for synthetic petrol from coal etc.

I have given reasons for making this suggestion which may interest you especially the important reason that it will put an end to the present dangerous tension and ill feeling between Biharis and Bengalis.

The dityation in this area where I have suggested the creation of a new Province is abmormal with no similar para-11el in any other part of the Dominion. This abnormality cannot be met except by an abnormal remedy of creating a new province under the Centre. In the normal course, the principle of language is generally a useful guide in the formation of a Province but in the case of our area, the position is exceptional and application of the normal principle of division on linguistic grounds does not meet the difficulty. The fivefold abnormality of our area consists in:

1. There are two major works of the basic steel industry procuding over 90% of India's output of steel with the possibility of a third works owned by Government.
2. There are two major coalfields in this area producing over 80% of India's output of coal.
3. The basic industries of both coal and steel are to be nationalised ofter ten years.
4. There is a bunch of Government sponsored and Government owned public works of the highest national importance all clustered in this small area.
5. The strategic defence of this area is a matter of paramount necessity. If this area is successfully bombed, or sabotaged, India's economy and defence would be shattered.

I would therefore submit that the application of the language principle to meet the requirements of this area would be futule adherence to theory.

As the President of the Constituent Assembly which will be the ultimate arbiter in this matter we submit to you that

the aspect presented by our letter to Panditji regarding the creation of a new Province under the Centre may also be examined.
I am sending herewith a copy of our letter to Panditji referred to aboe and I am also sending you by separate post 10 more copies of the letter.

Page - 163
+27158
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Copy of the letter from Darab Cursetji Driver, President, Coal Consumers Association of India to The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, Government of India, New Delhi dated the 16th July 1948.
Dear Panditji,
Re: Desirability of having a separate province under the centre comprising the basic industries of coal and steel in Bihar and its immediate neighbourhood and the various Government sponsored national schemes like the Damodar Valley, Sindri, etc.
The Coal Consumers Association of India of which I happer to be the President was established to guard the interests of industrial consumers of coal and includes in its membership important units of iron & steel, cement, chemical etc., industries.
2.
The Coal Consumers Association is very much perturbed by the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and the Mining Regulations issued by the Bihar Government as they will gravely affect the present and future production of coal.
3. The Association is also disturbed by the prospect of the high feeling roused by the Bengali-Behari controversy affecting the production of coal as will be seen from the excerpt given below from a recent private letter from the Jharia Coal fields from an expert source.
.
"The Bengali/Bihari sshe seems to be coming to a head as far as Manbhum district is concerned, as there has

been an open split in the District Congress Committee, and the Bengali elements have resigned en masse. This is likely to have further repercussions at collieries as many collieries employ Bengali personnel among the superior staff. There have already been several cases in Bihar of Bihari Bengali riots on collieries, and this latest deve-lopmeny is not likely to improve the situations".

4. In these very difficult circumstances, the Committee of the Association urge that the only practical solution of the dangerous influences that are besetting the production of coal which has been described as the bread of industries is to carve out a new Province under the Centre comprising the territory covering:-

(1) The basic industry of coal in the important coal-fields in Jharia and the neighbouring Ranigunj.

(2) The two major steel Works in the Singhbhum and Asan-sol areas with their ancillary companies in the neighbour - hood - Tinplate Works, Locomotive Works, Wire & Steel Product Works, and the mines of raw materials required by the Iron & Steel Industry such as iron ore, lime-stone, dolomite, manganese, chromite, etc.

(3) The proposed Government sponsored and Government-owned Works of paramount national utility like:

(a) The Damodar Valley Scheme,

(b) The Sindri Sulphate Scheme,

(c) The Mihijam Locomotive Works,

(d) The large high-powered thermal stations in the Colliery area to generate power from low grade coal for the electrification of Railways, rural areas etc.

(e) The works for the production of synthetic petrol from the distillation of low grade coal, and

(f) One or the two new Government steel Works to he located probably near Asansol.

4. The Copper smelting Works of the Indian Copper Corporation at Ghatsila in Singhbhum and the Aluminium Works near Asansol of the Aluminium Corporation of India.
5. The important Railway Workshops at Kharagpur and Jamalpur, and
6. The important military aerodromes existing and to be constructed near the above-mentioned areas for the protection of these industries of national importance.
5.
The reasons supporting the proposal for this new Industrial Province, if it may be so called, under the Centre are:
(1) The Government have already declared that their policy is to nationalise ultimately the coal and the the steel Industry, not to speak of the copper and aluminium industries and the most important units of these basic industries to be nationalised would be in this new Province with their ancillary industries and raw materials. It is only appropriate that such basic industries of national importance should be the concern of the Centre and not of a Province.
(2) The State-owned projects mentioned above are all very close to each other and would appropriately fit in this new Province under the Centre which will make for their efficient administration.
(3) The strategic importance of the safety and defence of this area compromising importance basic industries and State-owned projects of vital importance to the nation necessitates that to ensure the efficient defence of this industrial nerve centre of India by air and by land, both during War and industrial strikes, this area covering State Public Works and basic industries ultimately to be nationalised should be directly under the Centre. For instance, if at present during a strike at a colliery, the management wants the help of the military to prevent sabotage of essential machinery like the Power House, it has to apply to the local authorities and local authorities apply to their Head Quarters and they in their turn apply to the

Provincial Government and on the approval of the Provincial Government, the Central Government sanctions military help and on occasions irreparable damage is done before the military help ultimately arrives. This unavoidable delay which occurs under the present system in time of crisis will be cut short if this Industrial area is directly under the Centre.

(4) We cannot have one set of mining rules and regulations and sales tax to govern the Jharia coalfield and another set to govern the neighbouring Ranigunj coalfield without bringing confusion into the Industry. It would be disastrous if the different Provincial Governments in the major coalfields of Jharia and Ranigunj were left to follow their own coal policies. Similarly, we cannot have one set of Provincial Regulations for the Steel Industry at Jamshedpur and another set for the same Industry near Asansol. All this confusion and unhelpful Provincial interest in the development of our basic mineral industries will be avoided by the creation of this new Province under the Centre.

(5) There is a tendency in certain Provinces to restrict by Provincial regulations the entry of non-provincials into industries operating in their Province. This unfortunate, unconstitutional and separatist tendency will be check-mated by the creation of the proposed new Province under the Centre, at least so far as the' major basic industries of coal and steel are concerned.

6.

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(6) There is every prospect that the area indicated for a new Fndustrial Province will attract new

basic industries like that of chemicals and many secondary industries because in this area, relatively speaking, coal, electric power, and steel will be cheapest, not to speak of the covenience of cheap electrified rail transport, in the near future.

9

(7) To such a highly industrialised area with potentiality of much further industrialisation certain administrative facilities ancillary to industrial development are essential such as, for example, prompt action by Government for land acquisition on reasonable terms, and ready response to an application to lay an aerial ropeway etc. But these facilities are generally inordinately delayed by the present set-up of Provincial Governments; sometimes complete files are missing in the Secretariat; sometimes the officer concerned has not the file sent up to him from below; it would seem as if the Secretariat does not care for industrial development of the province. In the meantime, the industries concerned who wanted land to be acquired or an aerial ropeway to be put up have to wait for months, sometimes, for a year or more. The experience of the Government of India as regards the delay in the acquisition of land for their Sindri Sulphate Scheme and the high price they had to pay for the land would indicate how much more difficult the position of private industries would be. Such long and expensive delays would be done away with in this new Industrial Province, the main business of whose administration would be the encouragement and development of industries.

(8) This new Industrial Province will still the Behari-Bengali controversy and put an end to the high tension and bitter feeling between these communities, because the people of this new Province will be weaned from narrow Provincialism as they find themselves working as nationals for the uplift of the State through the working of India's basic

industries.
(9) The Provincial Legislatures drawn mainly from agricultural and legal classes tend to turn a deaf year to the grievances of industries, biassed as they are against industries in general and their war time profits in particular especially when the industries concerned are started by Indians drawn from other Provinces than their own. In the case of our proposed new Province embracing some of the most important of our basic industries of national importance, to put it under the Centre is the necessary corrective to such a tendency.
The Committee will be obliged if this memorandum receives your consideration and if it is forwarded by you to the Commission appointed by the Constituent Assembly regarding the subject of the creation of new Provinces for which purpose ten more copies are being sent to you by registered book-post.
7. A line in acknowledgement from your Secretary will be appreciated.

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123
Copy of the letter from Shri Darab Cursetji Driver, President, Coal Consumers Association of India to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Constituent Assembly, New Delhi dated 24th July, 1948.
I have addressed a letter dated 16th July 1948 to the Prime Minister, The Hon'ble Pandit Jewaharlal Nehru, suggesting a carving out of a new Province under the Centre covering (1) the major basic steel units in Singhbhum and Asansol and the coalfields of Jharia and Ranigunj as these two basic industries will be nationalised and (2) the State sponsored and State owned Damodar Valley and Sindri schemes, the proposed thermal power houses in the collieries, Mihijam Locomotive Works and the Works for synthetic petrol from

coal etc.
I have given reasons for making this suggestion which may interest you especially the important reason that it will put an end to the present dangerous tension and ill feeling between Biharis and Bengalis.
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3. The basic industries of both coal and steel are to be nationalised ofter ten years.
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or sabotaged, India's economy and defence would be shattered.
I would therefore submit that the application of the language principle to meet the requirements of this area would be futule adherence to theory.
As the President of the Constituent Assembly which will be the ultimate arbiter in this matter we submit to you that the aspect presented by our letter to Panditji regarding the creation of a new Province under the Centre may also be exa-

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125
124
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The Coal Consumers Association of India of which I happen to be the President was established to guard the interests of industrial consumers of coal and includes in its member-ship important units of iron & steel, cement, chemical etc., industries.
2.
The Coal Consumers Association is very much perturbed by the Bihar Abolition of Zamindaris Bill and the Mining Regulations issued by the Bihar Government as they will gravely affect the present and future production of coal.
3. The Association is also disturbed by the prospect of the high feeling roused by the Bengali-Behari controversy affecting the production of coal as will be seen from the excerpt given below from a recent private letter from the Jharia Coal fields from an expert source.
A.
"The Bengali/Bihari usse seems to be coming to a head as far as Manbhum district is concerned, as there has been an open split in the District Congress Committee,

and the Bengali elements have resigned en masse. This is likely to have further repercussions at collieries as many collieries employ Bengali personnel among the superior staff. There have already been several cases in Bihar of Bihari Bengali riots on collieries, and this latest deve-lopmeny is not likely to improve the situations".

4. In these very difficult circumstances, the Committee of the Association urge that the only practical solution of the dangerous influences that are besetting the production of coal which has been described as the bread of industries is to carve out a new Province under the Centre comprising the territory covering:-

(1) The basic industry of coal in the important coal-fields in Jharia and the neighbouring Ranigunj.

(2) The two major steel Works in the Singhbhum and Asan-sol areas with their ancillary companies in the neighbour-hood Tinplate Works, Locomotive Works, Wire & Steel Product Works, and the mines of raw materials required by the Iron & Steel Industry such as iron ore, lime-stone, dolomite, manganese, chromite, etc.

(3) The proposed Government sponsored and Government-owned Works of paramount national utility like:

(a) The DamodarValley Scheme,

(b) The Sindri Sulphate Scheme,

(c) The Mihijam Locomotive Works,

(d) The large high-powered thermal stations in the Colliery area to generate power from low grade coal for the electrification of Railways, rural areas etc.

(e) The works for the production of synthetic petrol from the distillation of low grade coal, and

(f) One or the two new Government steel Works to he located probably near Asansol.

126-
6.
(6) There is every prospect that the area indicated for a new Industrial Province will attract new basic industries like that of chemicals and many secondary industries because in this area, relatively speaking, coal, electric power, and steel will be cheapest, not to speak of the covenience of cheap electrified rail transport, in the near future.
(7) To such a highly industrialised area with potentiality of much further industrialisation certain administrative facilities ancillary to industrial development are essential such as, for example, prompt action by Government for land acquisition on reasonable terms, and ready response to an application to lay an aerial ropeway etc. But these facilities are generally inordinately delayed by the present set-up of Provincial Governments%3B sometimes complete files are missing in the Secretariat; sometimes the officer concerned has not the file sent up to him from below; it would seem as if the Secretariat does not care for industrial development of the province. In the meantime, the industries concerned who wanted land to be acquired or an aerial ropeway to be put up have to wait for months, sometimes, for a year or more. The experience of the Government of India as regards the delay in the acquisition of land for their Sindri Sulphate Scheme and the high price they had to pay for the land would indicate how much more difficult the position of private industries would be. Such long and expensive delays would be done away with in this new Industrial Province, the main business of whose administration would be the encouragement and development of industries.
(8) This new Industrial Province will still the Behari-Bengali controversy and put an end to the high tension and bitter feeling between these communities, because the people of this new Province will

be weaned from narrow Provincialism as they find themselves working as nationals for the uplift of the State through the working of India's basic industries.

(9) The Provincial Legislatures drawn mainly from agricultural and legal classes tend to turn a deaf xear to the grievances of industries, biassed as they are against industries in general and their war time profits in particular especially when the industries concerned are started by Indians drawn from other Provinces than their own. In the case of our proposed new Province embracing some of the most important of our basic industries of national importance, to put it under the Centre is the necessary corrective to such a tendency.

The Committee will be obliged if this memorandum receives your consideration and if it is forwarded by you to the Commission appointed by the Constituent Assembly regarding the subject of the creation of new Provinces for which purpose ten more copies are being sent to you by registered book-post.

7. A line in acknowledgement from your Secretary will be appreciated.

-127-

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126

4. The Copper smelting Works of the Indian Copper Corporation at Ghatsila in Singhbhum and the Aluminium Works near Asansol of the Aluminium Corporation of India.

5. The important Railway Workshops at Kharagpur and Jamalpur, and

6. The important military aerodromes existing and to be constructed near the above-mentioned areas for the protecti of these industries of national importance.

5.

The reasons supporting the proposal for this new Industrial Province, if it may be so called, under the Centre are:

(1) The Government have already declared that their policy is to nationalise ultimately the coal and the the steel Industry, not to speak of the copper and aluminium industries and the most important units of these basic industries to be nationalised would be in this new Province with their ancillary industries and raw materials. It is only appropriate that such basic industries of national importance should be the concern of the Centre and not of a Province.

(2) The State-owned projects mentioned above are all very close to each other and would appropriately fit in this new Province under the Centre which will make for their efficient administration.

(3) The strategic importance of the safety and defence of this area compromising importance basic industries and State-owned projects of vital importance to the nation necessitates that to ensure the efficient defence of this industrial nerve centre of India by air and by land, both during War and industrial strikes, this area covering State Public Works and basic industries ultimately to be nationalised should be directly under the Centre. For instance, if at present during a strike at a colliery, the management wants the help of the military to prevent sabotage of essential machinery like the Power House, it has to apply to the local authorities and local authorities apply to their Head Quarters and they in their turn apply to the Provincial Government and on the approval of the Provincial Government, the Central Government sanctions military help and on occasions irreparable damage is done before the military help ultimately arrives. This unavoidable delay which occurs under the present system in time of crisis will be cut short if this Industrial area is directly under the Centre.

(4) We cannot have one set of mining rules and regulations and sales tax to govern the Jharia coalfie and another set to govern the neighbouring Ranigur coalfield without bringing confusion into the Ind

try. It would be disastrous if the different Provincial Governments in the major coalfields c Jharia and Ranigunj were left to follow their ow coal policies. Similarly, we cannot have one se Provincial Regulations for the Steel Industry a Jamshedpur and another set for the same Industr near Asansol. All this confusion and unhelpful Provincial interest in the development of our h mineral industries will be avoided by the creat of this new Province under the Centre.

(5) There is a tendency in certain Provinces to restri by Provincial regulations the entry of non-provin cials into industries operating in their Provincet This unfortunate, unconstitutional and separatist tendency will be check-mated by the creation of th proposed new Province under the Centre, at least far as the major basic industries of coal and ste are concerned.

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Private
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New Delhi,
July 26, 1948.

My dear Sri Dar,

It is
Mr. Bannerjee, the Secretary of the Committee saw me the other day after you had left and made a suggestion for my consideration. He is only the Secretary of the Committee and not a full member, and as such it is not possible for him to place his view points before the members with the same authority as a member can. He mentioned that but

for your intervention his 'draft questionnaire' probably might not have been accepted. He has been put specially to assist the Committee on financial questions when they arise as he is a member of the Finance Department and has considerable experience of Provincial Finances. He says that when that time comes he may not be able to pull the weight that is necessary and he therefore suggests that he might also be made a member of the Committee. somewhat awkward at this stage to add to the membership but still if the grounds he gave have validity, the matter may have to be considered.
I consulted Sir B.N. Rau. He is of opinion that it will be awkward at this stage to add to the membership. At the same time he feels that there should be no difficulty for the Secretary in placing his points fully before the Committee. He said, he has experience as Chairman of several such commissions and committees in all of which the Secretary, though not a full member pulled his full weight and largely influenced the decisions of the committees. I shall be obliged for your views in the matter. Whatever decision there is, will be communited to Mr. Bannerjee privately by me and no reference will be made to the consultations I am having with you or with Sir B.N. Rau. I shall be obliged for an early reply.
Yours sincerely,
Sri S.K. Dar,
Chairman,
Linguistic Provinces Commission.

+31 (166
My dear Shri Dave,
1, Queen Victoria Road, 130
New Delhi.
2-8-48.

Many thanks for your letter dated 28th
July. I have not keeping well and I am going
away to Pilani Poday for a change. I have asked
Sir B.N. Rao to talk the matters over with Mr.
Bannerji and I think there will be no occasion
for troubling you again about it. On account of
my ill health I have not been able to meet Dr.
Pannalal but when I return, I shall take the
opportunity of seeing him and talking to him.
Yours sincerely,
RS
(Rajendra Prasad)
TO
Shri S.K.Dave,
37, Canning Road,
Allahabad.

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yed faut
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
129(167)
My dear Sri Rajen Babu,
3
New Dello Her
37 Canning Road,
Allahabad.
Council Hause,
July 28, 1948.
I have your letter dated July 26.
To dolfi og
I am definitely of opinion that the Secretary
ed swelv at sig of his eneo la at Jisq.
of the Linquistic Provinces Commission should be an
officer of the Finance Department and it will not be
proper at this stage to find a new Secretary or to make
Mr. Bannerjee a member of the Commission.
TA

La
I am sorry to hear that Mr. Bannerjee is not
satisfied with his position. Perhaps some thoughtless
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act of fours has given this cause. It was always my
A
intention to discuss with him all matters which came
before the Commission and to let him take a major part
in preparing the financial side of the Report. And after
your letter of this afternoon, I shall try not to give him
an impression that we do not value his advice or
cooperation, or that he is not pulling his weight.
Dr. Panna Lal is in Delhi, staying with his son
the
and his address is known to office. Perhaps it will be a

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good thing if you meet him and explain to him your
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point of view and if he takes the same view as I do
M M
of Mr. Bannerjee's position, there should be no further
difficulty in the matter. In my opinion the constitutional
position of the Secretary, as explained by Sir B. N. Rao,
TUOY SYS
is correct and the Secretary is fully entitled to take
part in discussions and to place his views before the
Commission.
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Perhaps what I have said above will meet the
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situation, but if any further difficulty remains, kindly
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let me know what it is and I

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shall do all I can to
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Yours sincerely,
S.K. Dan
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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA
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New Delhi, the...
Council House,
PRESS NOTE.
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2nd August, 1948.
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly hass issued the following press note:-
A question has been raised in certain quarters as to the authority under which the President of the Constituent Assembly has appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission. The Commission has been appointed by the President to assist the Constituent Assembly in arriving at final decisions on the provisions to be inserted in the Draft Constitution

in connection with Linguistic Provinces. The President has, in the past, appointed ad hoc Committees to assist the Assembly in its work; e.g., the Committee on the National Flag. Moreover, in the present case, the Drafting Committee al so has suggested the appointment of such a Commission. Action under section 290 of the Governmat of India Act, 1935, is a matter for the Government of India: if the Commission recommends the creation of new Provinces under that section, it will be for the Government of India to consider the recommendation.

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Dear Rajendra Baber
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RE: RE-DISTRIBUTION OF PROVINCES.
Even in the midst of your heavy preoccupations I am claiming a few minutes not because I do not know how busy you are, but because I believe that the matter about

which I am writing claims your immediate attention.
The question of the redistribution of -
provinces has reached a certain stage in the process of
Constitution - making. A resolution in terms of the
recommendation made by the Sub-Committee appointed by a
joint Sessions of the Union and Provincial Constitution
Committees awaits the next sessions of the Constituent
Assembly. I do not want to anticipate the result; but
I want to say some thing apart from that.
some of ve have reasons to apprehend that
there is a conscious or unconscious attempt to concede
the claim of Andhras straightway and postpone sine die
all other claims. Not that I grudge the Andhras their
success but I a submit that it is certainly detrimental
to postpone other claims.
My humble plea is that such an attempt, if
there be one, is unjust and unfair and to say the least
not very statesmanlike.
some seem to approach the whole problem quite
lightly and say that some leaders want power in the would-be
provinces and hence the agitation. This is as puerile as
saying that some of you were fighting for Independence
for getting power yourselves. Some others ask us as to
whether we are not treated fairly now. My reply is -
equally emphatic that that is not the real reason behind
this demand.
we stated our political life in Karnatak in
1920 with a two-fold objective, "Swaraj for India and
Unification for Karnatak". I put it ae
* स्वतंत्र भारत
और एकतंत्र कर्नाटक
For us, it is not a small
e guidance here and a petty tyranny or injustice there that
matters. Ours is a basic aspiration and we believe that
real democracy can scarcely function or develop in any
area where there is lack of homogenity and a common medium.

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133:
We have seen the advantages of a lingustic province in twenty
Congress work during the last seven years and when the time and opportunity for the formation of the an administrative province has come we do not want to be frustrated. Now that Swaraj has come and we can put our house in order we must be busy doing it. I may tell you here that our dream is to bring in all the Kannada people, even in the States and especially in Mysore, in one United Kenne- Karnataka Province. But things as they exist now allow us only to start with eight districts. But that has to be done - immediately as a step towards the realisation of the full dream.
This aspiration has never blinded me at any rate to hard facts and difficulties. But now I see that the hand of the foreigner is completely off us and there are no difficulties in our way but those that we may ourselves create or imagine. Therefore, I believe that this is the time when the legitimate aspirations of our people deserve to be fulfilled. They can well be entrusted with their own future as a province.
I know that this is not the place for me to argue out the case. But I must urge upon your attention the necessity to do the needful in the matter. No diffuculty need be allowed to seem too great to be overcome by all of us together. In fact, by freeing ourselves, we have bargained for difficulties and I believe we have the ability to solve them.
This problem, in my humble opinion, is a major one and does not lend itself either to be postponed or tinkered with. If I may be allowed to give an analogy, it is on all fours with the problem of nationalities' that Stalin tackled so successfully when the Soviet Constitution was drafted. He inspired even the smallest group of people with the idea that their destiny was safe in their own hands

and that they would have all facilities for development
and so they have.
A similar attitude alone on the part of elders
here can create the same confidence in the various peoples
and provinces. A move for redistribution of provinces in
so vast a country at this janeteve juncture ought not to be
branded as 'fissiparous tendency' which definitely it is t
not. I can understand non-congressmen saying it, but
certainly not those who are fammiliar with Congress traditio

Page - 177
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traditions.
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I do not think I should burden this letter
with more words since we are to meet soon. I await
your kind reply.
Yours in service
RRDiwakar

Page - 178
VEDALAYAM 173 6
AN IDEAL HOME FOR AYURVEDIC MEDICINES & TREATMENT
वेदालयम् - पेदपालेम् - गुंटूर जलिा
VAIDYA BHUSHAN DR. T. L. KANTA RAO, L. 1. M., F. A. 1. M.
MEMBER: CENTRAL BOARD OF INDIAN MEDICINE, MADRAS
MEMBER: BOARD OF STUDIES' GOVT. OF MADRAS
MEMBER: WORKING COMMITTEE: ALL-INDIA AYURVED MAHAMANDAL
VICE-PRESIDENT: PROVINCIAL L. 1. M. ASSOCIATION
VICE-PRESIDENT: PROVINCIAL R. M. PS' ASSOCIATION
DIRECTOR: MADRAS PROVINCIAL INDIAN MEDICAL
PRACTITIONERS' CO-OP. PHARMACY & STORES LTD.
135
PEDAPALEM P. O.
(Via) Duggirala, (S. I.)

Date
*10th, August 194.
Tom
LEAGUE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES.
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The Hon'ble BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD,
President: CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY,
NEW DELHI.
Respected Sir,
Subject: ANDHRA PROVINCE.
We demand immediate declaration for formation of ANDHRA PROVINCE before August 15th.
Yours sincerely,
Thanteras
V. Svival pati Rao
J. New Kateswarlu.
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Malempati Venkatana rasa
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Wow. sin. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
The Present CONC
Respected Sir,
Constituent wen
X New Delhi
Recu on
No. 2639/47.
The general body meeting
of the tam Student's congress, late
3rd instant, in Poornateatre,
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vizagpatam, for your resolved the
following for you
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be formed as a socialist Republic
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Telugu districts.
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17.8.47
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Your
Jai Hins,
Bree Raman Chandra,
mudy.
Genres secretary
Town Students»
Capen

Page - 182
CHIMANLAL C.SHAH,.
M.A., LL.B.
SOLICITOR.
Sir,
-1440
(177) 439
Regd. A.D.
Babu Rajendra Prasad

EXAMINER PRESS BUILDING,
35, DALAL STREET. FORT.
Bombay th August 194
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President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.
Ref. Bombays inclusion.
in Maharashtre
The Linguistic Provinces Commission appoint-
-ed by you as President of the Constituent Assem-
-bly has commenced its work and has issued a
questionaire. It has inter alia, asked about the
cities of Bombay and Madras and the province of
Maharashtra.
Leading Congressmen in Maharashtra including
the President of the M.P.C.C. and the general
secretary of the Congress demand a United Provin-
-çe of Maharashtra and claim Bombay as part of it.
The President of the M.P.C.C. called a meeting at
Bombay yesterday of the Maharashtrian members of
the Bombay Legislature where the demands above
mentioned were unanimously confirmed. Two of -
the Maharashtrian Ministers of the Government of
Bombay attended that Conference and joined in the
demands. They did not think it necessary to call
at this conference even the members of the Legis-
-lature elected from Bombay city itself. Their
.opinion

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opinion was not necessary!
So far as Bombay is concerned, all non-
Maharashtrians
Parsis, Muslims, Christians,

Gujratis, Sindhis and Punjabis- who form --O
the majority of the públic of Bombay are
emphatically opposed to the inclusion of
Bombay in Maharashtra. According to recent
figures, Maharashtrians in Bombay are
about 39%, non-Maharashtrians being 61%.
But this is not the only ground of opposi--
- tion.
-
e ne
The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee
has expressed no opinion so far. The matter
came before the Bombay Corporation yesterday
and it has appointed a sub-committee to
draft reply to the Commission's questionaire
a copy of which has been sent to the Mayor.
The Congress members ás also the members of
the Socialist party are sharply divided, the
Maharashtrians in both parties being on one
side, the non-Maharashtrians on the other.
Mr. S.K.Patil, President of the B.P.C.C. at
a party meeting expressed the opinion that
the question should be shelved for 10 years
but did not express any opinion what should
become of Bombay if it was decided to form
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a province of Maharashtra. The Bombay Ministry and
its Prime Minister have expressed no opinion so far.
A member of the Linguistic Commission, Mr.Pataskar
attended the Conference called by the President of
the M.P.C.C. yesterday and joined in the demands. He

has already made up his mind.
I do not know of any Maharashtrian who has openly opposed the demand for inclusion of Bombay in Maharashtra. When it comes to a linguistic province, Maharashtrian xor nationalism or socialism is at a dis--count. The Congress Municipal party of Bombay will very soon have to discuss this problem with a view to decide its policy to the reply to be sent to the questionaire of the Commission. It is difficult to say what will be the result but it will be a battle royal. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee will also have to decide its attitude.
Has the Congress any policy in the matter or does it leave its members free to decide? Will it give its members in legislatures and local bodies any mandate? Are the leaders of the Congress free to carry on propaganda for one view or the other? The Commission in its questionaire has envisaged the possibility

possibility of a large scale transference of population and consequent human suffering and has inquired what steps should be taken for its prevention. Shall we have to repeat the tragedy of Punjab and Sind even if on a smaller scale ?
Sit, This is a very serious matter and calls for immediate attention. It has become urgent because of the questionaire issued by the Commission which has got to be replied to before 16th of this month.
May I request the favour of an early reply?

V.
Yours obediently,
ccshah.
I may add that I am
a member of Min
Bombay Municipal Corporation & git
Congress party.
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Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 30, 1948.
Dear Shri Shah,
I received your letter of the 6th August
but could not send an early reply on account of my
indisposition.
The All India Congress Committee has not
issued any directive to congressmen with regard to the
inclusion of Bombay in any of the linguistic Province,
that may be recommended by the Linguistic Provinces.
Commission.
I am also afraid, I cannot answer the
particular question regarding the line that congress
members are to take on this question with the Municipal
Corporations or such other bodies. They shouts dende
for themselves
Shri Chimanlal C. Shah,
Examiner Press Building,
35, Dalal Street, Fort,
Bombay.
Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Pend
(Rajendra Prasad)

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144
Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 30, 1948.
Cear Shri Shah,
I received your letter of the 6th August
but could not send an early reply on account of my
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Corporations or such other bodies. They shuld decide
for themselves
Yours sincerely,
Shri Chimanlal C. Shah,
Examiner Press Building,
35, Dalal Street, Fort,
Bombay..
(Rajendra Prasad)

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-146-
183
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39
Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
The 10th August, 1948.
Dear Sir,
Please excuse me for not writing to you

earlier acknowledging your letter dated the 30th July 1948 relating to the formation of linguistic Provinces. I have forwarded the letter to the Linguistic Provinces Commission which will undoubted ly give consideration to the points raised by you.
I regret, it is not possible at this stage to cancel the appointment of the Commission and the best thing that you could do would be to assist the Commission with your views.
Yours sincerely,
em
Spare en
брак
(Rajendra Prasad)
Dr. Sir Hari Singh Gaur, DCL., L1.D., MCA.,

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I have received two representations, one from the Engineering Association of India and the other from the President, Coal Consumers Association of India, suggesting the carving out of a new province of the area comprising the coal-fields and the iron and steel works in the Asansol Sub-division of West Bengal and
thing shap
I
Panjang
Manbhum District, parts of Singhbhum District and Sentil Hazaribagh District of Bihar. The suggestion is made that this question should also be referred to the Linguistic Provinces Commission for investigation.
would like to have the implications of the proposal examined and also a precis of public opinion expressed on the proposal before any decion can be taken. It is

obvious that the Linguistic Boundaries Commission will not be a suitable body for investigating this question as its personnel has been selected from a different point of view. Nor do I think that the time is ripe for a commission to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly to take up this matter. It is evidently a novel proposal, the principle underlying which, if accepted, applied
will have to be accepted to other potentially rich but undeveloped tracts and several new provinces on the basis of their industrial capacity will have to be created.
Indeed if a province under the Centre is neces-
sary for an area which has been developed to a certain extent, it is still more necessary for an undeveloped areas so that their development might be planned before-
hand, and the necessary result of the acceptance of this policy will be the creation of new provinces from time to time as industrialisation proceeds. It means a process of continuous disintegration of the existing provinces and the creation of enclaves outside local popular control.
It might intend towards monopolis int

developments and create administrative problems of a complex nature. I would like to have these implica-
tions examined in x detail so that a suitable reply may be sent to the Coal Consumers Association of India and the Engineering Association of India. A draft may be sent to me along with other material.
I am enclosing printed copy of the repre-
sentation on behalf of the Engineering Association of India and a letter together with its annexure from

the Coal Consumers Association of India.
Pilani,
10 Aug 48
(Rajendra Prasad)

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August
1948
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Municipal President-
A Kallol

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Resolution.
Akalkot State has been.
149
merged
5
874.
March 1948
in Bombay
Province. Akalkot stälé
is
and should
be
a Taluka in Sholapur Bistrict
and Thus The
Slale
should.
be permanently
joined to
Maharshtra
in The
tollowing grounds;-

1) From reading The
history of
Maharashtra
we find That
Akalkot Slale
touneled
by Marālha.
Kings.
erealed and
since its inception
and before That
Akalkot stale
was
uncler
The
control
7
The
authorities at Satara.
Laler
s
it
eame
under The supervision of
commissioner central wivision, Bombay, and
Collector
of Sholafour. Thus for a
Akalkot
133
period.
of The ColleeCor
considerable
under "The direct supervision
of Sholapur.
The Collector of Sholafour
2)
Political
Agent of Akalkol.
was The

3) In The minority of The Late Shahoji
Ruja about The
year 1867 The appellate work
833
Looked
15
by
The
ṅ) The Police bepartment-
Collector of Sholapur.
7
of Akalkuli
Slate was
under The direct-
ment
manage
of
The L.S.P. of Sholapur.
5) The people of Akalkest (state) are
accustomed
more.
6
and related in
many respects

7) Akalkot is
nearer
8) There
are
Lions
between
The
people of Sholapur wistrict.
The local merchants
1506). The local
have
with shops and firms in Sholapur.

188
great dealings
Sholapur Than Bijapur.
direct roads and communica-
Akalkot and Sholafour which always
helps The people of Akalkot in Their
racle and
every day life. It takes
only
hour
a
80
15
Gravel.
has
اهت
Gavel.
and that too
between Sholapur and Akallot while one
by railway mily
with The intermedel.
intermeddling of a junction which
roulé takes
Casier.
more Than half a day
a) People of
65
have
Sholapur Than
to reach Bijapur.
Akalkot (State) find it-
recourse.
65.
Law Courts of
65
do.
The same.
at Bijapur.
The public will

be
grealely inconvenienced in
recourse
to courts at
being compelled to have
Bijapur.
10) The language of Akallest and it's
many
parts
is
Inarathi bolh
in
speech and
writing
including
The
accounts
The
Court
That
7
Those who speak canarease.
of all merchants
language is Marathi
are written in Marathi.
and
all the
and courts are
records
7
all
public
offices
Het in Marathi. There are
people but
none
is able.
to read and write can arease
some.

ean are ase
speaking

189
152
Thease
will
be a great hardshifo
if They
now
people of Akalles |-
to learn canarease
on The
151
will be compelled
from beginning.
11) Even
now The
ColleeCor
of Sholapur
is The
Chief Administration
for
Akalkot
and.
The
Police bepartment is in The charge of
police authorities at Sholapur, which fact-
clearly
shows The affinity between Akalkot- 8
Sholapur in all respectò.
12)
Culturally, socially
and
econom
comically,
The people of Akalkot State

Sholapur tar
more
-Ihan
are
one with These of
two hundrad years.
Linguistic affinities, Geographical
Administra live point of
situation and
view
Should be
Laken
into consideration.
For all These
reasons
we
here by most
humbly and
respectifully urge
(state) should be
joined to
That Akalkol
Sholapur district-
in
Maharash bia
and
not..
Co Bijapur in
Karnataka.

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(190
ठराव
157
अक्कलकोट संस्थान मुंबई प्रांतात वलीन झाले असून तो प्रदेश सोलापूर जलि्हया
.. जोडण्यात आला आहे हे संस्थान महाराष्ट्रांतील सोलापूर जलि्हयास खालील कारणा
स्तव जोडणे यावे

१) अक्कलकोट संस्थानची ऐतहिासकि परंपरा फार पूर्वी पासून महाराष्ट्रानं बनवि
लेली आहे व त्यामुळेच राजकीय सर्वे संबंध सोलापूर जलि्हयासी आलेले आहे सोलापूर जि
ब्घ हाच सर्व दृष्टमिें सोईचे असल्याने ऐतहिासकि न राजकीय संबंध वलिय होवू शकत
नाहीत व आता वलिग करने अनष्टि आह
२) अक्कलकोट संस्थानातील दविाणी,
फौजदारी, व मुलकी अपि वगेरे पूरी सोलपू
कलेक्टर व क्रमविानर सी.डी. कडे चालत होती व येथील राजाचे अज्ञान कार्यकेची
येथील सचे राज्य कारभार सोलापूरेच कलेक्टर पोलटिकिल एजेंट या नात्यान
चाटावेल असत
2) अक्कलकोट संस्थान स्थापन झोळे पासून +. त्याचे ही आगोदर पासून सदर
संस्यावच संबंध सामान्याकडे होते व पुढे ते सेंट्रल डवि्हजिनच कमशिनर नोला
पूरचे कलक्टर यांचे देखरेखीही आलेले आहे.
४) अक्कलकोट संस्थानातील सर्व कोटे कचेऱ्या व शाम यातील सर्व कामकाज
मराठीतूनच आहे व पूर्वीचे कामकाज रेकॉर्ड व सनदा नगेरे महत्वाच व ऐतहिासकि कामद
पत्रे वगैरे मराठीतूनच आहेत.
4) उनकलको की संस्थानची भाषा पूर्वी पासून मराठी आहे बहुसंख्य लोक मराठी
बोलणारेच आहेत कावडी लहिति वाचतां कोणासही येत नाही. येथील सन
जामासचे व पत्रव्यवहार फार पूर्वी पासून मराठी भाषेतूनच चालू आहेत अक्कलको
ची एक भाषा, कानडी खरोखरच असती तर वचि्या पुरस्कत्यांनी वचिी

जोपासना केली असती खरोखरी येथील भाषा कपडी नसून कामबोची नि-
173
का बोली वचारांत आहे एकही कानडी शाळा येथे तांवाला नव्हती व
नाहीही
अक्कलकोट संस्थान कानडी भागास जोडले गेल्यास सर्वे कडोस - कानडीचा श्रोतामा
शकिावा लागेल व त्या मुळे अनेक अडचणी उत्पन्न होऊन लोकावर जुलूमन अन्याय होणार आहे.
६) अक्कलकोटच व्यापारी दग्ण नाम सोलापूर, पुणे, मुबई वेगेरे महाराष्ट्रयि शहराकडेच आहे
ते जवळ जवासाचे मागे म्हणजे रेल्वे +रमे हे सोलापूरताच सोहेचे व जवळचे आहेत
अक्कलकोटचा मूख्य व्यापार सोलापूरशींच आहे ते जवळ आलम व सर्व दृष्टनिे सोईचे आहे
नहमीचे तांतडीचे वेळी सोलापुराहुन सहज वेळेवर सगळीच मदत मळिू उत्तर.
) अक्कलकोट संस्थान डोसनीक, सांस्कृतीक, भौगोलीक, ऐतीहासकि, व राज-
)
कीय दृष्ट्या सोलापूरशी फार पूर्वी पासून नगिडीत झालेले असल्यानं आता
वे वलिग करणे अथ अवये मूल होईल व साथ जीव घडी बघिडल
सामाजीक
वरति सवे याबीचा वचिार होऊन अक्कलकोट संस्थान महाराष्ट्रातील
सोलापूर जलि्हातच सामलि करण्याच नश्चिति कराने अशी आमची

भाग्रहाची मागणी आहे
192
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BALLIA RUDRAPUR ADARSHA MANDAL 54
155-
Ref:
Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President,
All India Congress Committee,
New Delhi.
16, Synagogue Street,
Calcutta 12th August., 1948..
13th
REGISTERED WITH A/D.
42
Dear Sir,
Re: Demarcation question on the boundary
of the Districts of Ballia & Arrah.
With a view to have the above matter thoroughly
discussed in your presence, our representative wants to
personally call on you at your leisure period.
We would therefore request you to fix up the
time and the date when a Free talk with you on the subject
may be possible.
Awaiting your pleasure of response.
high-
Spares wo day.
"txt?
Yours faithfully,
Shri Ram ojha
(Secretary)

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15
193 159

Camp Pilani,
Jaipur State,
August 28, 1948.
Dear Shri Ojha ji,
Your letter dated 12th August
has been seen by me. I regret that
I am unable to receive your represen-
tatives regarding the demarcation
of the boundary between Ballia and
Arrah Districts as I am not keeping we
well these days.
Yours sincerely,
(Rajendra Prasad)
Shri Shri Ram Ojha,
Secretary,
Ballia Rudrapur Adarsha Mandal,
16, Synagouge Street,
Calcutta.

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गावन्दिराम
पुरुष
या
कसरयि
सहिम,
उपतलिक्ष्मी
ट्वी
कामस
11-153
श्रीमन्नारायण अग्रवाल, एम. ए. (कलकत्ता);
एम. ए. (अलाहाबाद); एफ. आर. ई. एस. (लंदन),
आचार्य
43
क्रमांक १४७७
परम पूजनीय बाबूजी,
कॉलजि
194
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वर्षा २५.८.१९४८
१९.
सादर प्रणाम.
साथमें प्रान्तीय पुनर्रचना के बारेमें एक नोट भेज
रहा हूं. इसमें मैंने एक नया सुझाव पेश कयिा है. आशा
है आप उसे पसंद करेंगे. इसकी एक प्रत भिाषावार प्रान्तीय
कमशिन के पास भी भेज दी है.
आपका स्वास्थ्य सुधर रहा होगा. मेरे योग्य सेवा
लखिएिगा.
आपकी कृपा को हुन् ल
V
תינוויר
ས་གོས་རྒྱ····

Page - 200
A Note on
195
-158
The Problem of Provincial Redistribution
By Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
Govindram Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha
After the attainment of political freedom the Congress is committed to the redistribution of Indian provinces on a linguistic basis. The activities of the Congress organisation have also been conducted all these years on the same basis. But, unfortunately, the question of provincial redistribution does not appear to be handled in a proper way and, consequently, there is anger, confusion and indecision in the minds of Congressmen as well as the public in general. Some Congress leaders are all for rearrangement of provinces on linguistic basis and are actively working to this end in their respective spheres. A few others are vehemently opposed to the formation of provinces on the basis of language and prak prophesy that provincialism' would lead to the disintegration of the Indian Union. But they have not placed any alternative scheme before us. Do they desire to continue the existing provincial boundaries which are based not on any scientific principles but on mere historical accidents? There

are yet other Congress leaders who plead for the postponement of the issue for five or ten years because they think that other problems like those of Kashmir, Hyderabad, Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation and the soaring prices of consumer goods are more important demanding immediate solution. They, however, seem to have committed themselves to the creation of a separate Andhra Province perhaps to silence the bitter agitation that has been going on there for many years. Is this not an invitation to other linguistic areas for making themselves as unpleasant and vociferous as Andhra inorder to secure separation?

I should, therefore, be excused for stating that the question of provincial redistribution is yet in a mess and we expect our leaders to attach adequate importance and devote serious attention to the problem. A policy of 'drift will not do.

In more senses than one, the vivisection of the country was the outcome of such a policy of 'drift', and if the same policy is continued in regard to provincial boundarie the consequences might be extremely dangerous and detrimental to national solidarity. The national Government, despite other passing pressing problems, has been successful in solving the tangle of the Indian States very creditably.

I earnestly feel that our leaders should try to tackle the problem of provinces with the same insight and wisdom. It

must be realised that this question is not, in any way, less important than that of states; hence it should be faced boldly and realistically. If the Congress Working Committee, after discussing the whole problem threadbare feels that the principle of linguistic redistribution requires revision, it should issue a comprehensive statement and invite the All India Congress Committee to give its final decision. If,

however, the leaders are well convinced of the soundness of linguistic provinces, they should try to implement the Congress promise as early as possible. Undue delay in doing a good thing may be unnecessarily fraught with evil consequences. The appointment of a Commission by the Resident of the Constituent Assembly for this purpose is certainly welcome. But unless the Congress leaders review the whole matter carefully among themselves and give a clear-cut and well-reason ed lead to the country, the Commission might not be able to make much headway. In the absence of a definite policy, there will naturally be a plethora of suggestions before the Commission and the reactionary forces of separatism may, course of time, gain the upper hand.

in

Personally I see nothing fundamentally wrong in the principle of linguistic provinces. Such an arrangement would be very convenient in using an Indian language for administrative and judicial purposes; the introduction of mother-tongue as medium of instruction will also be very easy. But it is utterly wrong to talk of separate culture in advocating linguistic provinces because culture, like many other good things of the world, covers a multitude of sins. It is indeed regrettable that, of late, several responsible provincial leaders have mixed much fury and hatred in their agitation for separate linguistic areas; they have talked of satyagraha and even the shedding of blood. If this new myth of linguism' is allowed to gain momentum, our future is bound to be full of peril and disaster. But in case the question of linguistic rearrangement is viewed purely as a matter of convenience, no harm need be done to the solidarity and essential cultural unity of our nation.

I have, however, to suggest a middle way. In order to eschew the dangers of narrow linguism', we might have linguistic sub-provinces within the existing multi-lingual provinces. For example, in the Central Provinces and Beaar, there may be created two sub-provinces of Mahavidarbha and Mahakoshal although I do not like these high sounding with separate legislatures and ministries administering specified sub-provincial subjects like Law and Order,

Revenue, Education, Health, Excise and Agriculture. But there should also be a small legislature for the whole names

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-3-
159
province elected indirectly from the two sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies. The Provincial Legislature should legislate only for a few provincial subjects like economic planning, communications and higher technical education; its proceedings should be conducted in the national language. The Ministers of both the sub-provinces should be responsible to the Provincial Assembly. There may be a common High Court and Public Services Commission for the whole province. Similarly, in the Bombay Presidency there can be three sub-provincial Legislative Assemblies for Karnatak, Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay as the seat of the Provincial Government. The Madras Presidency can follow the same pattern. The advantage in having such a provincial organisation would be that while sub-provincial units will be linguistically homogeneous from the standpoint of convenience, the growth of unhealthy and exclusive 'Linguism' would be automatically checked a good deal. Further, it will not be necessary to redraw provincial boundaries in most cases; the existing ones would serve our purpose. This plan of linguistic sub-provinces will also be consistent with the principle of decentralisation of political power. The financial implications of such a scheme need not be prohibitive%; the total number of ministers in the sub-provinces should be almost the same as that for the whole province today. If we could have honorary Governors- and this should not be difficult now when there are so many pensioner Maharajas the present provincial revenues will be adequate to maintain two or three sub-provinces without additional burden on the tax-payer.

I do not claim that the scheme outlined above is the best method of provincial redistribution under the

existing circumstances. Nevertheless, I expect that it would receive due consideration at the hands of all those who are interested in the satisfactory solution of this intricate problem.

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श्रीमन्नारायण अग्रवाल, एम. ए. (कलकत्ता);
एम. ए. (अलाहाबाद); एफ. आर. ई. एस. (लंदन),
He has seen it.
आचार्य
क्रमांक १४७६
परम पूजनीय बाबूजी,
गोवन्दिराम
पुरुषा
I
द्योग
कामस
सादर प्रणाम.
सकसरयिा
हम
उपतलिक्ष्मी.
कालजि
प्रधा
160
२५.८.१९४८
वर्धा---
१९
साथमें प्रान्तीय पुनर्रचना के बारेमें एक नोट भेज
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आपका स्वास्थ्य सुधर रहा होगा. मेरे योग्य सेवा
आपकी कृपा को कम लोग प्रसभा है
२४

A Note on
162.
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1618
The Problem of Provincial Redistribution
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Govindram Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha
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The appointment of a Commission by the President of the Constituent Assembly for this purpose is certainly welcome. But unless the Congress leaders review the whole matter carefully among themselves and give a clear-cut and well-reason ed lead to the country, the Commission might not be able to make much headway. In the absence of a definite policy, there will naturally be a plethora of suggestions before the Commission and the reactionary forces of separatism may, in course of time, gain the upper hand.

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CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA

Linguistic Provinces Commission.

Chairman

Shri S. K. Dar,

(Retd. High Court Judge)

Members
Dr. Panna Lall, C.S.I., C.I.E.
Shri Jagat Narain Lal, M.C.A.
Secretary
Shri B. C. Banerji, I.A. & A.S.
+63- 202 Jouncil House,
पपादक
New Delhi, the 25th August, 1948.
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ilse
PRESS COMMUNIQUE.
The Secretariat of the Constituent Assembly of India has issued the following Press Communique:-
The Linguistic Provinces Commission have been holding their session from the 22nd August and have interviewed quite a large number of men, both official and non-official, hailing from the areas involved. They will interview tomorrow certain Members of the Constituent Assembly of India belonging to the proposed Provinces.

Page - 208
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165
A representation from Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar and fifteen other members of the Constituent Assembly from West Bengal has been received from the office of submitted
the Constituent Assembly and is/piagad below for perusal.
us
My
H.P.
Letter to Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar dictated.

This representation, a copy of my letter and a similar
letter which I have received from Dr. Sachchidananda
Sinha, MCA., Patna, on this subject may be kept in
file in the office.
Secretary, Constituent Assembly.
Ld. RP.
29.8.48

167
209
Camp Pilani,
29th August 1948.
166
I have received your letter dated the 25th August 1948
asking me to extend the terms of reference of the Commission
which I have appointed to include in their enquiry the question
As you
as to what areas in the present province of Bihar should be
brought with the province of West Bengal in the reconstitution
of the new State of West Bengal on a linguistic basis.
have pointed out in your letter the Commission has been appointed
in pursuance of the recommendation of the Drafting Committee
the effective portion of which is that a Commission should be
appointed to work out or enquire into all relevant matters not
only as regards Andhra but also as regards other linguistic
regions with instruction to submit its report to enable the
new State whose formation it may recommend to be made under
section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, to be
mentioned in the Schedule before the constitution is finally
adopted. It will be noticed that the Commission has to make
its report to enable a new State whose formation it may
recommend to be mentioned in the Schedule. As the existing
provinces are already there and their names will be mentioned
there is no point in appointing a Commission with regard to
them. If there are areas which required to be transferred
from one province to another that is a matter entirely separate
and distinguishable from a new province which has to be created

so that its name may be mentioned in the Schedule. You yourself have noticed that section 290 contains provisions for four things. The recommendation refers only to one item provided by section 290, namely, the creating of a new province. I am, therefore, of the opinion that I shall be exceeding my powers as President of the Constituent Assembly which is concerned only with the drafting of the Constitution if I were to take action which really has to be taken administratively by the Government. If it was not necessary to mention the names of

Page - 210
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167
the provinces in the Schedule and if we did not have the precedent of Sind and Orissa for the creation of which similar commissions were appointed and if there had not been this recommendation of the Drafting Committee, I think, I would not have felt called upon to appoint a Commission. It is because of these considerations that a Commission has been appointed and I am afraid, it is not possible for me to extend its terms as desired by you.
I note that you intend to raise this question before
That question will be dealt
the Constituent Assembly meeting.
with when it arises.
Sri Sures Chandra Majumdar, MCA.,
New Delhi.
Yours sincerely,
Ed
(Rajendra Prasad)
PRESIDENT.

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Shou Kala Venkata Ravs letter placed
belons and H.P.'s remarks, thereon.
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169
On 26.7.47, the Steering Committee decided that the resolution on linguistic provinces of which Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya had given notice might be taken up by the Assembly after disposing of the Union Constitution Committee's Report. This was brought to the notice of the Steering Committee at its meeting on the 24th August

and it was informally agreed that the resolution need not be taken up during the present session. This was presumably because the unfinished portion of the Union Constitution Committee's Report was not likely to come up at this session.
[It may be added for H.P's information that & other members had, on 31.7.47, given notice of a motion on the subject of a separate province for Andhra. These members were asked whether in view of Dr. Pattabhi's motion, which will be coming up during this session, they wished to press their motion.
21/8/47
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No one, however, replied. 7
ThePermanesh
30-8.47

Page - 213
171-
Hon President
208
Constituent Assembly
Sir.
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Shall deal with.
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Please
You
are aware that there are some
house had no
resolutions regarding Linguistic provinces. The
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will have to get into the Bill, kindly
announce the procedure thro' which

Can be done.
Thanks
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to consider them. As
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motion is
Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's motion
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of the
fount meeting of the Union & Provincial
Constitution
A date
Committes held

on
the 18thignly.
may now, perhaps, be fixed
in the Orders of the Day
for inclusion in
I have indicated some changes
21/7/47 in pencil. These are mostly verbal,
except the addition
the words "under a
Dominion Act" after “appoint
a
Commission.
This addition is in accordance with the
Sub-Committer accepted by
minits of the
the joint meeting
35
18-7-47. These words
seam to me to be important and should
hot be
left
2.
ent.
The resolution may
be put down
the
the
for Saturday, the 26th: this is
assumption that the discussion on
Union Constitution Committee's report will be
completed by them.
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may
also fout down
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for the same day the Report of the
Powers Committee's Report.
on
Orders

3. If afforoved, draft
the above lives will be
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submitted. For 2320, 24th and 25th the
business of the Home will be "further con-
sideration of the Repoort of the theron Consti-
tution Committee's Report"
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21/7/47
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Res: 3 for
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To
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New Delhi,
18th July 1947.
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The Secretary,
Dear Sir,
ent
Constituent Assembly of India.
I beg to give notice that I propose to move
the following resolution during the current session of
the Constituent Assembly:-
undera.
"As soon as the Dominion Status Constitution comes
into operation (on the 15th August 1947), the Dominion
Government should appoint a Commission to examine
the question of creating the proposed new Provinces of Dovan
Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Maharashtra. The
Commission should submit its report as early as

possible, so that the new Provinces, if any, which
it may recommend may be enumerated in the new
Constitution and suitable provision made therein on
the lines of sections 46 and 289 of the Act of
1935.
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Govt of disney
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There should, in addition, be a
Act
provision in
the new Constitution on lines of section 290 of the
Act of 1935. For this purpose, clause 3 in the uni
Constitutional Adviser's memorandum on the Union an
Constitution/would be generally suitable; but
provision should be made for the inclusion of
Indian State territory or Centrally Administered Areas."
kin lecion
Conemilici's Repat
Yours sincerely,
ehows
B. Pallabhi Sitaramazza
(B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya)

Page - 216
174
144 217
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF INDIA.
CONFIDENTIAL.
173
STEERING COMMITTEE
Minutes of the meeting of the Steering Committee held
on the 26th July 1947.
Present:

Dr. Rajendra Prasad (Chairman)
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mr. K.M.Munshi
Mr. Satyanarayan Sinha
Mr. C.S.Venkatachar
Mr. Abdul Kadir Mohd. Shaikh
Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy
Mr. Jagat Narain Lal
Shrimati G.Durgabai
Mr. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar
Giani Gurmukh Singh Musafir.
of
:
:
The notice of amendment to rule 5 given on the 17th July by Messrs.Deshbandhu Gupta and Mukut Beharilal Bhargava was considered. The Committee accepted the principle of the proposed amendment but considered, as advised by the Constitutional Adviser, that its form requires amendment in view of the fact that the Indian Legislative Assembly electoral rules would lapse on the 15th of August. The Committee desired that the drafting should be carefully scrutinised before the amended rule was placed before the Assembly.
2.
B
The Committee took up the notice of motion by Mr.A.P.Pattani regarding a draft constitution for the guidance of States who desired to form groups. The general sense of the meeting was that this was not a matter that the Constituent Assembly could appropriately take up. Mr.. Munshi promised to speak to Mr. Pattani and have the notice withdrawn.
3.
The Committee agreed that Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya's resolution may be brought on the Order Paper after the Union Constitution Committee's report is disposed of.
40
The Committee considered the letter from Mr. V.N.Tivari and Thakur Chedilal about the celebrations on the 15th of August. There is some indication that Mahatma Gandhi may not be in Delhi on the 15th of August and it is not clear whether the proposals

contained/....

Page - 217
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2.
contained in the letter would be acceptable to him. It was therefore decided not to pursue the matter unless Messrs. Tivari and Chedilal are in a position to verify from Mahatma Gandhi that their proposals are acceptable to him.

5.
The Committee examined the question referred to in para. 6(1) of the minutes of the meeting held on 22-7-47. The Constitutional Adviser informed the Committee that in the draft adaptations to the Government of India Act, the ban on double membership of the Provincial and Central Legislative Assemblies is proposed to be removed. The Committee decided therefore that no action was necessary till the work of constitution-making had been completed.

6.
On the question of States! representatives in the Assembly, the Committee took the view that, whether the States have acceded to the Dominion or not, their representatives should be allowed to take part in the work of the Constituent Assembly when it functions as the Dominion Legislature.

New Delhi,
July 26, 1947.

To
All members of the Steering Committee.

K/-
H.V.R.IENGAR
Secretary.

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C. Assemff, Commencing from the 15th Aug 47
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To
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1. Date of despatch
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Serial No.
No. CA/67/Cons/47.
Dated
August, 1947.
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1. Prof. N.G. Ranga, M.L.A. (Central)
2. Shrimati G.Durgabai.

3. Shri V.C.Kesava Rao.
4. Shri D.Govinda Doss, M.L.A.
5. The Hon'ble Shri K.Chandramouli, M.L.A.
6. Mr. T..M. Wilson, M.L.A.
7. Shri M.Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.L.A. (Central)
8. Shri N. Sanjeeva Reddy, M.L.A.

Dear Sir/Madam,

With reference to your notice of a motion dated 31-7-47 regarding the creation of the Andhra Province, the accenfarging

I write to say that a motion on the subject of the creation of Provinces on a linguistic basis by Dr. B.Pattabhi Sitaramayya will be coming up before the Assembly during its forthcoming session. In view of thi I am to enquire whether you still desire to press your motion. If, however, it is your wish to do so, your motion will be placed before the Steering Committee at its next meeting.

S. 5. (Large)
MFP 378 S&P-6767-(M-(9)-11-9-45-150,000 Pads.

Yours truly,
Secy.

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PLEASE REFER MY TELEGRAM DATED SECOND SEPTR 1948 ON VISIT OF
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TRAVANCORE PRIME MINISTER
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The sequence of entries at the beginning of this telegram ie-class of telegram, time handed in, serial number (in the case of
foreign telegrams only), office of origin, date, service instructions (inay) and number of weeds.
This form must accompany any enquiry respecting this telegram
I

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180
Camp Pilani,
Sept. 18, 1948.

Dear Sir,
I have received a letter signed by you and several other members of the Constituent Assembly asking that the scope of the Commission appointed by me regarding the creation of new provinces should be widened so as to authorise the Commission to enquire into the Orissa demand for inclusion of outlying Oriya areas in the province of Orissa or as an alternative to appoint a separate committee or commission to go into the question. As you have yourself pointed out, the Commission has been appointed in pursuance of the recommendation of the Drafting Committes. It is not concerned with the revision of boundaries of existing provinces but only with the question of creation of new provinces. The boundaries of even these new provinces, if created, will be settled by a separate commission to be appointed later. I am, therefore, sorry that it is not possible to widen the scope of the work of the commission to include the revision of boundaries of the existing provinces. I may add that I had received similar request from some other members and my reply was to the same effect.
As regards the revision of boundaries, it is a matter which can be dealt with by the Government and the Constituent Assembly Mas such is not concerned with the revision of boundaries. I have, therefore, neither the power nor any justification for the appointment of a new commission for settling boundaries of existing provinces.
Yours sincerely,
(Rajendra Prasad)
Shri Bishwanath Das,
New Delhi.

STATE EXPRESS
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Shri Munshi
1849
26 Ridge Road
Malabar Hill
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Bombay
THANKS TELEGRAM
HAVE ALREADY ASKED LINGUISTIC
COMMISSION POSTPONE BOMBAY VISIT
PRIOR RECEIPT
YOUR TELEGRAM
Rajendraprasad
Not to be telegraphed:
es.
Private Secy.
Shashi Sadan,
Pilani.
Octr. 11, 1948
Copy to Secretary, Provincial Linguisic Commission
Constituent Assembly of India fer information.
Private Secy

Page - 225
AVT/-
LINGUISTIC PROVINCES
COMMISSION
SRI S
AR, CHAIRMAN
DR. PANLAL
SRI JAGAT NARAIN LAL
SRI B. C. BANERJI, SECRETARY
}
MEMBERS
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188
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My dear Ragen Babu
TITUEN
CONSTITU
INDIA
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58
Council House,
New Delhi,
October 13, 1948.
189
After my wireless telephone talk with you I went to Allahabad for consultation with the Chairman, Mr. Dar, Qs I knew, he was very loath to postpone our deliberations much longer. At first he was inclined not to give any postponement. A little late when he received a personal telegram from Mr. K.M. Munshi about his illness, he chang ed his mind, and I am glad to say that orders have now been issued postponing our dates. Our original intention was to go to Bombay first and then work through Poona, and Hubli to Nagpur. We will now do it the other way first Nagpur, then Hubli, Poona and Bombay. In this way our work in Bombay will commence about three weeks later than what was originally intended and this should meet the wishes of the Bombay Government and of Mr. Munshi.

Also I am trying to arrange our time-table in Bombay so as to examine all witnesses in whose cross-examination Mr. Munshi may be presumed to be more interested, as late a date as possible.

We have definitely cancelled our proposed visit to Bangalore.

In view of your impending visit to Jubbulpore, Mr. Shukla also wrote to me asking to advance our dates a little, to enable him to go to meet you in time at Jubbulpore.

Our revised itinerary has been published by the A.P.I. Briefly it is as follows:

Nagpur
Hubli
Poona
Bombay

23rd to 26th October, 1948
27th to 29th
30th to 31st
1st to 9th November, 1948.
I hope to see you on the 22nd. looking very fit and
strong. With kindest regards and best wishes.
Hon'ble Dr.Rajendra Prasad,
President,
Constituent Assembly of India,
Palani.
Yours Smurely
Panna tall

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Dr Rajendra Pd Berla House Plan
Your Kind Telegramm Many thanks for
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Page - 228
LINGUISTIC
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SRI S. K. DAR
DR. PANNA LALL
SRI JAGAT NARAIN LAL
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My dear Dr. Panna Lal,
Camp: Bajajwadi, Wardha.
20th Dec., 1948.
৭.
I was so glad to receive your note and read the report, a copy of which was handed over to me by Sir B.N.Hau when he came to see me here. I need hardly say how thankful I am to you and to your other colleagues for the work which you all have done. I knew it was a thankless work seeing the passions that had been roused. I can only hope that the report will be studied dispassionately.
I have known Babu Jagat Narain Lal for s very long time and if his talents have not been so far utilised to the extent they should be, I cannot be blamed. I hope, however, that he will have larger opportunities in future.
I am still not quite fit as there has been a

setback within the last few days. But I am still hoping
to be able to attend the assembly when it reopens.
Yours sincerely,
Dr. Panna Lall,C.S.I.,C.I.E.,
Par

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Campi Bajajwadi, Wardha.
20th December, 1948.
Alija s I Jud avab wot
C My dear Shri Dar,
and
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I received copy of the report which was in
printed form which was handed over to me by Sir
B.N.Rau and Padmanabhan when they came here to see
ne 3 or 4 days ago. I was going to write to you
how thankful I am to you, to the members of the
(heast
Commission, Dr. Pannalal & Shri Jagat Narain Lal and
Mr. Bannerjee, the Secretary, for the work which
you all
have done. I knew that it would be a
difficult and thankless work when I made the
appointment. But I had hopes that the spirit of
public service would help me in securing the services
of a good team and I feel happy in my choice. You
have brought to bear on the questions before you an
informed and independent mind and given a report
which should be studied dispassionately by all. I shal
be obliged if you kindly convey to the Members and

the Secretary my appreciation and gratefulness.
As desired, I am writing to the Finance
minister about Shri B.C. Banerji.

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I am still not quite fit as there has been
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Shri S.K.Dar,
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(Rajendra Prasad)
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Chairman, Linguistic Provinces Commission,
Constituent Assembly of India,
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Page - 233
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The accompanying letter has been received from Sj.
S.K. Dar, Chairman of the Linguistic Provinces
Commission. I have acknowledged it. I have also written
to the Finance Minister about Mr. Banerji as suggested.
Copies are enclosed. Will Secretary please note about
the suggestion marked 'A' on the margin ?
Secy.C.A.
Ri
President.
20/12/48.

Page - 234
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Deny challindhan Babu
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Committees
Kindly speak &
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H. P.
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The attached note is self explanatory. It was
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Page - 236
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1937
The circumstances which made it necessary to
bring my motor car are as follows:-
The Hon'ble the President of the C.A. made it
clear at our first meeting on 19th July that our report
should be prepared urgently, so as to be available, if
possible, by the time the C.A. undertook the consideration
of the draft constitution.. This meant heavy concentrated
work, and I have had to attend office daily ever since,
and to contact high officials and public men out of office
hours, in order to expedite our work. Also, the Chairman
and the 2nd member, have regularly attended office examin-
ing witnesses and doing other work whenever they have been
in Delhi.
It was not possible to borrow cars from friends
all the time. The staff car of the C.A. also was not
usually available. Sometimes we could not get taxis and
Chairman and I had to use Tongas. To engage taxis whole
time, for all this period, was a financial impossibility.
So I brought my car, fully believing that its
freight would be sanctioned.
It may be added, that, the car has been at the
service of all the members of the Commission, not only
all three of
myself and has been regularly taking us to and from our
residences, morning and evening, and for lunch, and for
other outdoor work.
J
Panna La

Page - 237

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
The H 'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dr
B.P.Sitaramayya
Gentlemen,
43
195-
2328
Subject.
8
12th March 19
Calcutta
Readjustment of West Bengal boundary, chiefly on
inmistic and cultural basis.
We, the undersigned, approach you with the request that you
194
will be pleased to consider the question of amalgamation of the Bengali -speaking tracts now in Bihar with West Bengal. With this end in view we entreat you to kindly give us an opportunity to lay before you all the relevant facts in this connection. In our opinion the matter is extremely urgent and should be settled before the end of the present month by yourselves.
Kindly fix up an appointment" at an early date.
Yours Fai thfully
Rashabinabel Surchandise Atul it Susta
Judge, International Tribu-
Maharaja of Cossimbagar.
Linguistic
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Committoo, South Calcutta
District Cer. ss Committe
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R
Kalidas Say
Professor
Rellasumdar
Ex-Vice-Chancellor,

Dacca University
Baricha Kumar Ghose
President,
Unity Party.
Upendranath Banan
Editor, Basumati.
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The Rt. Hon'ble Lord
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Laela Rong
AcDatta
Late Deputy Speaker
Central Legislature.
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4. Secz.
Bharat Sevasram Sangha
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Socialist Party.
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South Calcutta D.C.0
palandranet Mukhtigen
Cheon Chandra Bird Chapalaran Phattacharya
Late Judge, High Court.
President, Journalists'
Association
Ganiel Gomes A President Rotary
Indian/Christian Assoon.
The Zawad
Chibi es fan the
Ex-Mayor Cal.Corpn
Nansderali
Late Speaker & Minister
Mote bath Roy

ball
Founder President
Sangha.
The signatories are representative of all classes of people of West Bengal
Coutts Prabartat sanghest Bengal
and of various Associations therein. S.K. Ganguly Mesident
27-B- Chittaranjan Ave New Bengal Arsver.
Culentta-13

Page - 238
196-
(233)
LEAGUE OF LINGUISTIC PROVINCES.
NOW ALIQUE OF
WEST KRISHNA LISTRICT BRANCH
A.L.Narasimha Sarma,
Secretary.
sall-Office 81-
Bucking hamper-port-
A
Proceedings of Executive Committee.
16-3-49
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Re. A Formula for immediate Andhra Province.
195
An urgent meeting of the working Committee of the West Krishna District Branch of the League of Linguistic Provinces was held at Mogalrajapuram with Mr. Katragadda Madhavarao, President, in the chair. After taking into consideration the present situation regarding the Andhra separation, the following resolutions were passed as aids to a "peaceful formula" as desired by Sardar Vallabhai Patel..
Andhra Separation.
(1) This meeting requests the High Power Committee to arrange inclusion of Andhra as a separate State in the Schedule I of the new Constitution and to implement the same from 15-8-1949 on grounds of language and culture as well as administrative convenience and homogeneity.

(2) This meeting suggests that the present Congress Boundaries. may be accepted tentatively as the provisional boundaries of the new Province, subject to such changes immediately as may be agreed to mutually between the Andhra leaders on the one hand and those of Orissa, Karnataka and Tamilnad on the other, and will be determined finally by a Boundaries Commission to be appointed within gå five years after the starting of the new Constitution.

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(3) This meeting supports the demand of the Rayalaseema Mahajana Sabha for the creation of a Rayalaseema Development Fund and suggets the same may be met from the 33 crores of the Revenue Reserves available at present. The meeting also supports the demand for weightage in representation in terms of the 'Sree Bagh Pact', as was conceded in the Poona Pact in the 1935 Act, or as per Section 290 (2) of the Adaptation Act, 1947.

(4) This meeting welcomes the speech of Sri Ramananda Theertha President of the Hyderabad State Congress at Madhira and extends its whole-hearted support to the proposal for re-uniting the eight districts of Telingana with Andhra Desa.

Krishna - Pennar Project.

The meeting condemned the proposed Krishna-Pennar project in its present form, which is likely to submerge as many as 160 villages in the Rayalaseema districts and 90 of them in Hyderabad, add to the refugee problem, and contribute to enrich the non-Andhra districts largely. The meeting, therefore, requests the Madras Government to give up this effort and use its monies instead towards the more useful projects like Gandikota, Badinagadda, Kanchalamma Gandi etc., repairs to tanks, wells etc., which will be more useful to the Rayalaseema area.

Earlier, the meeting adopted a resolution of condolences on the sudden demise of Srimathi Barojini Devi, the Governor of U.P.

VIJAYAWADA, I
16--3--1949.
Su
(sd.) A.L.Narasimha Sarma,
SECRETARY.

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secretary

Page - 239
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MEMORANDUM
ON
Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts
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IN
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WITH
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Jegn WEST BENGAL
Submitted by
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION. aquell grow
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1. Curzon's Partition and its annulment (1905).
Lord Curzon partitioned Bengal in 1905 against the wishes of the people. It was followed by country wide agitation of unprecedented intensity for about seven years. In order to prevent further deterioration of the situation, the Government of India made up its mind in 1911 to get the partition annulled.
2. Government of India's Assurance to modify the Boundaries (August 1911).
Accordingly, the Government of India sent a Despatch on the 15th August 1911 to the

Secretary of State recommending annulment of Curzon's partition and the formation of three new provinces (1) Bihar and Orissa, (2) Bengal, and (3) Assam, with their boundaries as they existed till the Radcliffe Award (August 1947). As the Despatch was prepared in secrecy, the Government of India added that "after the Delhi Durbar of 1911 they would discuss in detail with local and other authorities the best method of carrying out a modification of the Partition of Bengal on such broad and comprehensive lines as to form a settlement that shall be final and satisfactory to all."

3. The King-Emperor ratified it (December 1911).

The King-Emperor in the course of his Durbar Speech on the 12th December 1911 also gave a solemn assurance of readjustment of boundaries. o

4. Resolution of the Indian National Congress urged the Transfer of Bengali-Speaking tracts from Bihar to Bengal, (December 1911).

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Immediately after the announcement of this intention of readjustment of boundaries, a Resolution was passed by the Indian National Congress at its annual session in December 1911 urging the Government to transfer the areas of Bihar, where the people spoke Bengali, to Bengal. The Resolution was proposed by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru and seconded by Mr. Parameswar Lal, a leading politician of Bihar. (Vide Append ix I.)

5. Bihar Leaders accepted the soundness of the Congress Resolution and desired its implementation, (January 1912).
as expressed in their Despatch of 25th August 1911.
VO This demand was repeated year after year by 391937 Suite Scripthe Bengal Provincial Conference, In January 1912, several Bihari leaders accepting the soundness of the principle embodied in the Congress resolution, reiterated that all the Bengali-speaking tracts should be brought under the Government of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts be placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar. They specified that in Chotanagpur, the whole of Manbhum district and Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum were Bengali-speaking, so they should go to Bengal and the rest of the Division which was Hindi-speaking should remain in Bihar; such tracts in Santal Parganas, where the prevailing language was Bengali should go to Bengal and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district must remain in Bihar. (Vide Appendix I.)
6. The Demand repeated In January 1912.
Sj. Surendra Nath Banerji, the great leader of India and Bengal, on the 23rd January 1912, as Secretary of the Indian Association, made a representation to the Government pointing out that in the Despatch of the Government of India dated the 25th August 1911 the principle had been laid down that Bengali-speaking areas should form one province and the Hindi-speaking areas another separate province, and pressed for redistribution of Provinces on linguistic basis.
7. The Reply of the Government, April 1912.

In reply to this representation the Government of Bengal observed that the readjustment of boundaries consequent on the modification of the partition of Bengal was under consideration, danssonoma ed elle ve

8. Bengal Provincial Conference pressed the Demand in April 1912 and repeated it year after year.

On the 7th April 1912, the Bengal Provincial Conference passed a Resolution demanding amalgamation of the entire Bengali-speaking population under one administration in view of the declared policy of the Government of India

All classes of people of Manbhum and Dhalbhum submitted their representations before Lord Hardinge, the then Governor-General of India, protesting against the separation of their lands from Bengal. Further in 1912 similar representations were sent from various villages with the same object. Subsequently Manbhum District Association was formed which carried on the agitation with the utmost vigour.

9. The Demand pressed in the Memorandum submitted to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford (1917).

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In 1917, in the Memorandum submitted by the Indian Association relating to future administration of India to Mr. Montague and Lord Chelmsford, after specifying the definite promise given by the Government, it was stated that for the purpose of introducing responsible government, it would be an advantage to have to deal with homogeneous provinces. It was pointed out that Bengal was such a province but there were fringe areas in Bihar, Orissa and in language, race and tradition. So it was urged Assam, the population of which were Bengalees

that by territorial redistribution such areas should be included in Bengal.

10. Nehru Report recommended formation of Provinces on linguistic basis (1928)

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In 1928, the All-Parties Committee in their Report, known the Nehru Report, recommended formation of provinces on linguistic basis. The Bengal Provincial Conference of that year reiterated the demand for reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar with Bengal on the basis of this recommendation,

II. Simon Commission Report also Recommended readjustment on linguistic basis.

The Report of the Simon Commission expressed the view that "the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality" and recommended as a

66 matter of

urgent importance that the Government of India should set up a Boundaries Commission with a neutral Chairman which would investigate the main cases in which provincial adjustment seems called for". (pages 25, 26 of Vol. II of the Report).

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12. Pandit Nehru emphasised the same view.

Redrawing of provincial boundaries on linguistic and cultural basis has all along been favoured by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He repeatedly expressed this view in his speeches and writings.

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13. The Election Manifesto of the Congress, (1945) supported linguistic and cultural no basis for provincial redistribution.
"The
The election manifesto of the Congress, dated the 11th December 1945, formulated the view in the following precise words:
Congress has stood for full opportunities for the people as a whole to grow and develop according to their own wishes and genius, it has stood for the freedom of each group and territorial area within the nation to develop its own life and culture within the larger framework and it has stated that, for this purpose, such territorial area or provinces should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis". This great manifesto is the direct corollary of the fundamental principle of self-determination.
14. Convention of the Members of the Constituent Assembly, December 1946.
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On the 8th December 1946 a Convention of the members of the Constituent Assembly was held in New Delhi at which a Resolution was adopted reaffirming the principle of creation of new provinces and redistribution of provinces on linguistic and cultural basis.
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15. Self-determination is to be the guiding
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But of late there has been
by some newspapers of Bihar
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bitter attack
against the

reasonable demand made by the Bengalees of Dhalbhum and Manbhum.

It is not the heated controversy in newspapers or vituperations from platforms or mob violence that should decide the issue. It is the fundamental principle of self-determination that must decide it. If the people of a particular district or subdivision want to be within a particular province, there should not be any interference from outside. The procedure is as simple as possible. If the majority of the people in the region speak the Rarhi Bengali language of contiguous West Bengal districts, it must be included in West Bengal. If, on the other hand, the majority of the people in the region speak Hindi, it cannot be included in West Bengal. It must be decided in a "civilised way", as Pandit Nehru says.

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16. Radcliffe
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Award necessitates the
aid solution of the Problem without Delay. a
Clado
an Befoee the Radcliffe Award the Hindu and other non-Muslim population in undivided Bengal was 2,73,01,091. By Partition their number has been 1,58,93,573 and the area has been reduced from 77,442 sq. miles to 28,033 sq. miles. It is needless to say that West Bengal hase been disastrously crippled by the Award,and it will not be possible for it to recover from the shock unless it gets back the Bengali-speaking tracts from Bihar. Hence it becomes imperative that these tracts must be reunited with West

Bengal. The necessity for such redistribution has acquired a special urgency in view of the migration on a large scale of Hindus of Eastern Pakistan that has been going on ever since the publication of the Radcliffe Award.
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Nearly a crore and a quarter of Hindus have got locked up in Pakistan; and several lakhs of them have already come over to West Bengal and many others are coming. It is but a niggardly bit of the original Bengal Province that has fallen to the share of West Bengal. The necessity of scope for expansion is therefore very considerable; and the area sought to be brought over from Bihar, about 8,000 square miles and with a comparatively sparse population (only about 450 to the square mile) would be a most suitable addition.

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237
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
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17. The tracts of the present district of Manbhum never formed a part of Chutia-do nagpur or Bihar but had been always in er Bengal from old times.
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dadd
The entire land now covered by district Manbhum had been all along part of Bengal from ancient times and was never part of Bihar except from 1912 when the Britishers arbitrarily made it so for reasons best known to them. Ain-i-Akbari records that Mandaran Sarkar (Garh Mandaran) appertained to Sube Bangla and that Panchkote, the most important and

largest Raj within Manbhum was a mahal of Mandaran Sarkar. Jaffar Khan had divided Sube Bangla in several chaklas, in consequence of which Burdwan chakla was formed containing Mandaran Sarkar and three other Sarkars. Firminger's edition of Fifth Report of Mr. Grant, Second page is stated

In

1833 the Jungle Mahal Zilla was divided, and a new district was formed called Manbhum with its head quarters at Manbazar. This included not only the present Manbhum district and several estates of Bankura but Dhalbhum as well. Its area was 7,896 sq. miles which was too large for one district. So in 1845 Dhalbhum was separated from Manbhum Zilla and included in Singbhum Zilla for the convenience of Magis-terial administration.

18. Dhalbhum also was never a part of Chutianagpur or Bihar; it was a part of Bengal from ancient times.

According to Ain-i-Akbari, Mandaran Sarkar was the westernmost border territory of Sube Bengal. It further shows that Mandaran Sarkar consisted of several mahals out of which Dhalbhum was one. At first Raja Jagannath Dhal, Chief of Dhalbhum refused to accept the suzerainty of

Zamindaries, of Burdwan Raj, one-third of a chyff the British, but subsequently his

Bishnupore and Panchkote appertained to this chakla". In the Report at page 198 it is stated that Western Boundary of Panchkote was Chutianagpur and Ramgarh. Further in the Fifth Report, Part II, pages 248, 259 and 398, it is mentioned that Panchkote was for all time within Bengal, in Mandaran Sarkar of Burdwan Chakla. Rennell's map No. IX appended here-with conclusively proves that Panchkote was in

Bengal and was not a part of Chutia nagpur or of Ramgarh. Rennell's maps Nos. IX, VII, III and II, of which more will be said later, conclusively show that the whole of Manbhum district including Pachete, Juriagarh and Dhanbad areas and Dhalbhum were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur and Ramgarh.

According to Trevelyan's Hindu Law, Daya. bhaga is the prevailing law in Manbhum. The prevailing law in Bihar is the Mitakshara. Panchkote Raj family is governed by Daya-bhaga School of Hindu Law.

The administration of Panchkote towards the end of the 18th century was carried on first from Midnapore and subsequently from Birbhum. By Regulation 28 of 1805 the Jungle tracts of Bankura and Burdwan were formed into one Jungle Mahal Zilla under a separate Magistrate. Bankura was its head quarter. By the Regulation 13. of successor in 1777 agreed to pay fixed revenue of Rs. 4,267/ on permanent settlement basis, and Dhalbhum Pargana remained part of Midnapore district till 1833. Rennell's map No. VII dated 14. 10. 1779 shows Dhalbhum extending on both sides of the Subarnarekha as part of Midnapore. In 1833 the new district of Manbhum was formed out of the Jungle Mahal Zilla and Dhalbhum was made part of it. In

In 1845 for convenience of magisterial administration Dhalbhum Pargana was made part of Singhbhum, as stated above; but in revenue matters its administration continued to be linked up with that of Manbhum. It is well known that the people of Dhalbhum till to-day refuse to identify themselves with those of Singhbhum.

So in 1912 when Curzon's partition was

annulled, Dhalbhum by a double process, first as part of Singhbhum and then of Chotanagpur, was made part of Bihar. This is how Dhalbhum was cut away from Bengal and grafted on Bihar.
19. The culture, customs etc. of the general populace of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are totally Bengalee and nothing else.
Kali
tioning
In Dhalbhum and Manbhum, Durga and Pujas are universally performed.

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NEW BENGAL. ASSOCIATION
Besides these Pujas, Manasa Puja, Jitasasti and Pous Parban are performed just in the way they done in the neighbouring districts of Midnapore and Bankura. In the months of Baisakh and Jaistha, Harinam Sankirtan is sung in all villages as in Bengal villages. The Chhat and Fagua festivals are confined among the few Beharis in the towns. The Bengalee trait runs through the entire body of Hindus, Musalmans, Brahmins, Christians, Bhumijes, Kurmis, Santals, Bauris, in diet, dress, language, words, ornaments, conception of purity and impurity. The peculiarity of cooking, the mode of putting on dhotis by men and sarees by women, dressing of hair by women, the way of mutual greetings on first meeting, Harinam Sankirtan in all villages, the reading of Krittibas's Ramayan and Kashi Das's Mahabharat, Jatras (theatrical performance without scenes) in Bengali and the presentation Radha Krishna's Biraha and Milanlilas accom-

panied by dances-all have upon them the unmistakable Bengali stamp. The crowd in the market or gathering of men on any occasion will also strike as a Bengali assemblage.
of
Bu
20. Geographical Position and Physical Features favour the Claims of West Bengal.
bA look at the map will convince any one that Dhalbhum is and should be part of Midnapore district or Manbhum district as it was in past times. It is the foundation and growth of the industrial town of Jamshedpur that have made the pargana a covetable object to Bihar. Without the industrial town there would have been no attraction for Bihar to claim this pergana inhabited by people speaking Bengali, Oriya, Santali, Ho etc. and separated by a distance of 200 miles from Patna across the vast territory Nagpur.
of mountainous and jungly Chutia
Dhalbhum, Jamshedpur and Seraikella are on the Railway main line from Calcutta to Bombay and can be reached within six hours from Calcutta, but a railway journey from any place in Behar proper to the above mentioned places will take not less than 18 hours.
add
The levels of lands of the whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum are the most important geographical features for ascertaining whether they should remain with Bihar or be made over to Bengal. Their levels are almost the same as those of Bankura and Midnapore. The level of lands
5
intervening between them and Bihar proper ranges between 1,640 to 3,281 feet above sea level (See Oxford map).
From the geographical position and physical

feature of Dhalbhum as also of Manbhum it is crystal clear that they are not parts of Chutia-Nagpur. Under no circumstances these far-flung tracts should be made part of Bihar ignoring the fact that they had been all along parts of Midnapore and Birbhum. The levels of the country are the same and they are inhabited by the same class of people with the same dialect and traditions.

[It is a common error to take Chutia Nag-pur as identical with Chhoto Nagpur. Chhoto Nagpur (the Division) was created for the first time in 1854, and inclues Chutia Nagpur which meant only the Ranchi Maharaja's Zemindari, and also Singbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau].

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21. Rennell's maps are conclusive evidence berof the above. of buttede solide ed

J. Rennell's maps prepared in 1779 not only conclusively point out that the whole of Manbhum district and Dhalbhum subdivision were part of Bengal but were never in Chutianagpur, not to mention Bihar. Map No. VII shows that Dol-boom, Burraboom, Manboom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jauldoe, Juriagur and Niagur were within Bengal. Map No. IX draws the boundary between Bihar and Bengal. It shows that Dhalbhum, whole of Manbhum with Jhariagarh, Jamtara, Rajmahal were in Bengal and not in Chutianagpur, Ramgarh or Bahar. Map No. II shows Juriagarh, Doomka and Jamtara within Birbhoom. Map No. III which is of South Bahar completely excludes Dhanbad area, Jhariagarh, etc., showing Goomah and Doomchans beyond the boundary line. Present Dhanbad is over 50 miles south-east of Goomah and Domchanch. Map No. VII further shows Dolboom as part of Midnapur;

and the initial B of Birboom in the fork between Barakar and Damodar rivers leaves no room for doubt that Birbhum jurisdiction included the whole of present day Dhanbad subdivision, right up to Niagarh, Ramcurrah and the Jamunia stream. Present day maps show Ramkunda, Nowagarh, also Topchanchi close to mile 188 on the Grand Trunk Road, and Madhuban and Pareshnath Hill near mile 195 on the same road.

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
22. Language of the people of Manbhum supports. amalgamation.
Bibid Area
in sq.
miles.
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Census
1941.
Census
1931.
Biog Labidgee Santals
20 celu ne mudd (All
Total
obem
speak
as
popula- Bengalees, Bengalee People
tion.
speaking
subsi- Hindi.
diary jo

language)
4,147 20,32, 146 13,57,284 2,67,619 3,57,075
67.3% 13% 17.5%
4,147 18,10,890 12,22.689 2.42,991 3,21,690
tot bole910 837 67.5%
67.5%
13.4% 17.8%
The figures show that in the whole district the Bengalees were about 5 times as many as Hindi-speakers in the times of Census for 1941 and 1931. This fact alone is sufficient for decision that the district should no longer be retained in Bihar but must be restored to Bengal as it was before 1912. Furthermore as almost all the Santals in the district speak Bengali, the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is 80 p. c. of the total population. So any attempt to retain the district or any part of it in Bihar will be a contravention of the principle of self-determination.
The case of Dhanbad subdivision must be dealt with separately anticipating possible objection. 1931 Census figures for Sadar and Dhanbad subdivisions are as follows:-
62,269
Ce Total
Total no It
popula- Bengalees. Santals.
tion.
Hindu-
sthani,
Sadar sub-
sub-
division.
12,89,798 10,46,653 1,68,714
d
5,21,092 1,76,036 73,377
subdivision.

期
Dhanbad
18,10,890 12,22,689 2,42,091
The case of Dhanbad stands on a different footing. The percentage of Bengalees, Santals and Hindi speakers are 34, 14 and 50 respectively. Of the entire Hindusthani population in Dhanbad subdivision, by far the majority are confined in the mining area of Jharia and Dhanbad as labourers and as such they form what is called the floating population.
cannot be
They
regarded as inhabitants of the soil, and their number should not be allowed to modify the decision about the redistribution of Provinces on a linguistic basis. Otherwise in future there will not be any permanency in the boundaries of the province. On similar consideration the labour population in the tea gardens of Sylhet, being a floating population, was not allowed to vote in the referendum taken to decide whether Sylhet should be a part of Pakistan. The Hindi-speaking labourers in mines should similarly be excluded. Even without excluding this floating population, Bengalees and Bengali-speaking Santals together outnumber the Hindi-speaking population of Dhanbad subdivision. So there is no reason why the whole of the district includ-
Dhanbad subdivision should
be
transferred to Bengal.
ing
23.
not
Attempt to replace Bengali language by Hindi in Dhanbad, Santal Parganas and Dhalbhum.
It is regrettable that from 1912 when Bihar

was separated from Bengal persistent attempts were made to make the Sub-division of Dhanbad a predominantly Hindi speaking area. In 1914, after an unsuccessful attempt led by Mr. Luby, the Additional Deputy Commissioner, to oust Bengali altogether from the Courts in Dhanbad, Hindi was prescribed as an alternative court language.

A notification was issued from Education Department to the effect that, for the time 2,59,421 being, only Mathematics, History, Geography, etc., might be taught through the medium of Bengali but as the students would acquire sufficient knowledge in Hindi the medium of teaching of all subjects should be Hindi. It was notified that from 1916 all subjects should be taught in Hindi.

3,21,690

Figures most emphatically disclose that retention of Sadar subdivision of Purulia in Bihar is an outrage on the principle of self-determination. Here 10 lakhs of Bengalees want to live under West Bengal Government against 62 thousand of Hindi-speaking people who claim to remain under Bihar Government.

as soon

Orders were issued in Government letter No. 5109 R S. dated 7. 8. 1918 directing that the Records of Rights in the Settlement proceedings about to commence would be written in

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Hindi exclusively, and not in Bengalee. This was followed at once by memorials of protests from persons holding permanent interest in the land, both landlords and ryats, who had all their documents in Bengali and were all practically ignorant of Hindi. In view of this Mr. Hoernle the Additional. Deputy Commissioner of Dhanbad was of the view that the Record of Rights in the whole of the subdivision ought to be in Bengali. So the Government had reconsider the matter. After long delay, revised orders were grudgingly passed in Government letter No. 309 J. T. C, 9 dated 8. 6. 1921 that, for the eastern thanas Nirsha and Tundi, the records were to be prepared in Bengali, but that the order of 1918 relating to record and petitions in Hindi must hold good for Block E, consisting of thanas Gobindapur, Jharia and Topchanchi. But practically all documents and papers produced by landlords and tenants even for Block E were found to be in Bengali, and the Settlement Officer Mr. Gokhale, I. C. S. had to observe in his final Report that there was much difficulty in the landlords and raiyats to understand the Hindi record", and that parties, who were prevented from presenting before the Settlement staff petitions in Bengali, started writing petitions in English but not in Hindi. Mr. Gokhale had nothing better to suggest for meeting this anomalous situation than that "every effort should be made to popularise the study of Hindi in all the vernacular schools in the area, so that in a short time there will be at least one man in each village who can read the record and thus enable the villagers to take advantage of it". After a lapse of over 20 years

since then, it is now possible to get in most villages in the 3 western thanas "at least one man" who can read and explain the record; but even to-day the great majority of petitions filed in Courts and of documents presented for registration in the Registration offices continue to be written in Bengali and not in Hindi.
In Dhalbum, Hindi was prescribed in 1934 as alternative Court language and Hindi primary schools were opened. Similar aetion was taken in the Bengalee-speaking tracts of the Santal Parganas, and the first effect was a heavy drop in the number of students in primary schools. The following observation in this connection by Mr. Hoernle, Deputy Commissioner of the Santal Parganas in 1930 (who had been Mr. Luby's successor as
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Dhanbad
Addl. Dy. Commr.
in 1921) is of interest: "The policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to have been based on Dhanbad where Mr. Luby who was Subdivisional officer in 1914 instituted a vigorous campaign against Bengalees".
In 1921 Mr. Hoernle, Additional Deputy Commissioner of Santal Parganas, had observed "In 1914 Mr. Luby, S. D. O. of Dhanbad, has started there a strong campaign against the Bengali language. The local language of Dhanbad was Khotta Bangala which is a mixture with Hindi. In the West and North the influence of Hindi is greater whereas in the East and North-East and South East influence of Bengali is greater. Everywhere the influence of Bengali language is felt more than any other. In 1921 at the time of Census I could not secure non-Bengalee enumerators. In my opinion the

campaign against Bengali language in Dhanbad was ill-conceived. The similar policy adopted in Jamtara and Pakur seems to me on the basis of policy adopted in Dhanbad."

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Bengali by Hindi was renewed. But in spite In 1937 a planned attempt to replace of repeated efforts against it the influence of the Bengali language is to be found everywhere. Primary teaching has to be carried on through the medium of Bengali.

Mr. Rajendra Prosad in his recent address before the Hindi Sahitya Sanmilan expressed his annoyance to the Sanmilan for "not propaga-ting Hindi in Singbhum and Dhalbhum area which has resulted in West Bengal's claiming those areas". So it is an admission that attempt to change language of the Bengali speaking area in Bihar failed.

24.

Language of the people of Dhalbhum supports its amalgamation with West Bengal.

o Population of Dhalbhum on linguistic basis according to census of 1931

Mother Tongue Bengali

Mother Tongue Hindi

Mother Tongue Oriya

Mother doa

Mother Mother Tongue Tongue Tongue Santali Bhumij Ho

Dhalbhum Subdivision including Jamshedpur City
1,41,105
(Total population 3,94,595).
49,624 44,640 97,119 22.828 9,467
Jamshedpur City only (total population 83,738)
564
17,768
36,782 8,791
307 2,616

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205
204
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be The figures show that entire population of the Subdivision is 3,94,595. Out of it the Bengalees are 1,41,105. They far exceed Hindi speakers (49,624). Then again, of the Santals and Bhumijes, over 57,000 speak Bengali as a subsidiary language, less than 7000 speak Oriya and not even 100 of them speak Hindi. So Santals and Bhumijes have proceeded a long way with the Bengalees to imbibe their way of speech and living.

In Jamshedpur town out of the total population of 83,738 (Census 1931) Bengalees number 17,768, Oriyas 8,791 and Hindi speakers 36,782. The above excess of numbers of Hindi speakers over Bengalees should not be the deciding factor to retain Dhalbhum or any part of it in Bhiar. Jamshedpur is only an isolated town in which the Hindi speakers number more than the Bengalees but do not outnumber the Bengalees, Oriyas and tribals put together. The town is surrounded on all sides by Bengali majority lands. On the east is Midnapore. On

the north are districts of Midnapore and Manbhum. On the West is Saraikela where Bengali speakers predominate as will be evident from the figures given below. On the south is Mayurbhanj State where there is no Hindi-speaking people. Dhalbhum is not touched on any side by Hindi area.

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Another factor should not be lost sight of. In Jamshedpur, the great majority, not only of Hindi speakers but of Bengali speakers and Oriya speakers as well, are immigrants. Among the very small percentage of those that are building houses and settling down, the Bengalees predominate. Further, the labour population concentrated in the town of Jamshedpur is what is called floating population and should not be considered for determination of the point, as has been already discussed in connection with the Dhanbad colliery area.

So under no circumstances can any part of Dhalbhum be retained in Bihar. The entire sub-division must be transferred to Bengal.

25. Saraikela should also be included in West Bengal, deel anibulai nolaivibdue muddleda cee.se, noislugog IndoT)

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Saraikela is bounded on its entire North by lands of Sadar Subdivision of Manbhum which extends further towards the west to cover

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portion of northern boundary of State of Kharsawan also. On its west are the State of Kharsawan and district Singhbhum. On its southern boundary, Mayurbhanj State touches it for a short distance and on the rest of the southern boundary and on the eastern boundary is the subdivision of Dhalbhum. So from its geographical

position it should be made part of Dhalbhum and consequently it should go to Bengal.

The population of Saraikela consists of Bengalees 43,117 (30%), Oriyas 36,363 (25%), Hindustanis 4,911 (3%), Tribals 58,734 (41%), Of the tribals, the great majority use Bengali as their subsidiary language, and a small number use Oriya.

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The observation of Sir George Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India is relevant in this connection (more exhaustive extract quoted later on). "Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking District, and the same language is spoken in that part of of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is south of Manbhum. The State of Saraikela consists of two portions an Eastern and a Western. In the Eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the Western portion of the State of Saraikala the main language is Oriya".

From the above there cannot be any other conclusion but that Eastern Saraikela must be included in West Bengal along with Dhalbhum and not with Orissa, much less with Bihar which has absolutely no claim.

26. Extract from Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India page 139-140, Vol. V Part 2

efully support the claims of West Bengal.

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"On the east of Hazaribagh we drop from the plateau into the Southern portion of the Santhal parganas and North of the District of Manbhum. Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santhal Parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh and of the whole of the District of Manbhum.

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Manbhum is a Bengali-speaking district;
and the same language is spoken in that part

of Singbhum known as Dhalbhum, which is
south of Manbhum. The State of Seraikala consists of two portions, an Eastern and a Western.
In the eastern, both Bengali and Oriya are
spoken by different nationalities. In the rest of
Singbhum, in the State of Kharsawan and in the
western portion of the State of Seraikela the
main language is Oriya.
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In all these sub-plateau tracts, however,
there is a strong element speaking not the main
language of the localities but some form of
Magahi. We find pure Magahi spoken in the
Chakradharpur thana just below the plateau, and
also in the States of Seraikela and Kharsawan.
So also in Manbhum and again in Kharsawan,
we find a corrupt Magahi spoken principally
by Kurmis, which, among other names, is known
as Kurmali, a form of speech we shall deal with
presently. In the same district, pure Magahi
is spoken locally by some of the higher castes.
In the five sub-plateau parganas of Ranchi,
besides the non-Aryan Mundari, there are spoken
both Bengali and a dialect of Magahi locally
known as Panch Pargania or Tamaria which
more nearly approaches the pure form of the
language, and which is not so mixed with
Bengali as the dialect of the Manbhum Kurmis.
To conclude, as will be shortly explained, the
same corrupt Bengali-Magahi language is also

spoken in the South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in a part of the thana of Ramgarh.

It must be noted that in this belt, Magahi is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language. In Manbhum, speakers of Kurmali live side by side with speakers of Bengali, and in Singhbhum and its Native States, side by side with speakers of Oriya, or in the case of Eastern Seraikella, with some speakers of Oriya and other speakers of Bengali."

This state of affairs is illustrated in the map accompanying his observation.

The extracts make the claim of West Bengal for Dhalbhum, for Saraikala and whole of Manbhum irrefutable.

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27. The extracts further support the claim of West Bengal for five parganas of Ranchi District, three thanas of Hazaribagh district and the western fringe of Santal Parganas contiguous to Hazaribagh. Further, the extract "Bengali is the language of that portion of the Santal parganas which adjoins Hazaribagh" * * * is important. In the portion of the Santal Parganas which touches

Jamtara,

Hazaribagh lio Mihijam,

Madhupur and Deoghar. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants of these places speak Bengali and not Hindi. So these areas of the Santal Parganas, although they are situated on the western fringe of the district, should also be amalgamated with Bengal along with the con

tiguous eastern areas.
In page 166 of the same volume, Grierson writes "The east and south-east of Ranchi is a meeting place of three overlapping forms of Aryan speach. In the south-east
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the Jain Majhis and the well-to-do cultivating and trading castes speak the Saraki form of Bengali. In the five parganas Tamar, Bundus Baranda, Rahe and Silli), dom
Bengali-Saraki overlaps". These parganas are contiguous to the Jhalda area of Manbhum; and Grierson's estimate of the number of Bengalee-speakers in Ranchi is no less than 54,860. So there is no reason why this portion of Ranchi District should not be amalgamated with Bengal.
The extract "Bengali-Magahi language is also spoken in South-East of Hazaribagh district on the border of Manbhum, in the thanas of Gola and Kashmar and in part of the thana of Ramgarh." It is well known that the people of thanas Gola, Kashmar and part of Ramgarh exclusively speak Bengali. They do not even use Hindi &S a subsidiary language. So it is proper that these thanas should also be amalgamated with Bengal.
28. Subdivisions of Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, to and Rajmahal in Santal Parganas should also be amalgamated with West Bengal.
Santal Parganas is contiguous to the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Murshidabad and Malda of West Bengal. The level of the lands of the above

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subdivisions is almost the same as that of the contiguous districts of West Bengal. In the beginning of British rule a part of Santal Parganas Was within Bhagalpur and the remainder in Birbhum. By Act 7 of 1856 the district was formed with lands taken out of Bhagalpur and Birbhum districts. Rajmahal area was within Suba Bangla for four centuries and Rajmahal was its capital. The western natural boundary of West Bengal is evidently the Rajmahal hills and the ranges extending southward. From the list of Zemindaris it can be seen that from the time of Murshid Kuli Khan up to the time of Permanent Settlement the subdivisions of Rajmahal, Pakur, Jamtara and considerable portions of Dumka were within Bengal. na letos
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In 1912 the district Was included in the separated Province of Bihar. In the Census Report of 1931, Mr. Lacey wrote that Bengali language had got a set-back in Santal Parganas, Singhbhum and States. He further remarked that "although there was keen competition between Hindi and Bengali languages in Santal Perganas and although the Hindi-speaking population is four times as many as Bengali-speaking people, still Bengali is the
the current
language among the aborigines of the district." In the two subdivisions of Pakur and Jamtara, the Records-of-Rights were prepared in Bengali. All the documents in these two subdivisions are written in Bengali. If the children, who speak in Bengali in their houses, be taught in schools

in Hindi, the result will only be the disadvantage of an artificial imposition.

The Census Commissioner's observation that in Santal Parganas the number of Hindi speakers is four times that of Bengali speakers, requires a brief comment. This proportion is applicable with respect to the district as a whole including Godda and Deoghar subdivisions and western portions of Rajmahal and Dumka ; but it is not correct for the Bengali-speaking tracts which consist of the eastern side of sub-divisions Dumka and Rajmahal and entire Jamtara and Pakur, and for which the approximate figures may be stated as: Bengalees 217 thou sand, Hindi-speakers-136 thousand. Apart from these figures the most important fact remains that the majority of the tribal population of the district spoke and still speak Bengali as a subsidiary language and not Hindi. Thus Bengali is the common language not only in Jamtara and Pakur subdivisions but also in Rajmahal and Dumka which is borne out by the following figures. Rajmahal: Bengalees 42,937 plus Santals, 130,644, against Hindi speakers 1,22,601. Dumka: Bengalees, 46,077 plus Santals, 2,26,268, against Hindi-speakers 1,97,434. So the claim for transfer of only the eastern portions of Dumka and Raj-mahal along with the whole of Jamtara and Pakur would be found to be irresistible.

tev The old judicial documents relating to Deoghar show that they used to be written in pure Bengali, with Bengali year and month specified. Such documents used to be filed in the court of the Judge at Birbhum. One such is to be found in the Prachin Bangala Patra Sankalan edited by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, Head of the Imperial Records Department, New Delhi. Relevant extracts from this document are reproduced in Appendix III.

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29. Necessary strip of land from eastern
portion of Purnea should be given to
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bia lagne diod
vllWest Bengal. Joelaib
doidw aramaT To sinagte done
erit The spoken language in the eastern portion
of Purnea District is called Kishengunjia
or Sripuria dialect. According to Sir George
Grierson this dialect is allied and similar to the
spoken language of North Bengal districts of
Malda and Dinajpur. According to his estimate
the number of Sripuria-speakers was more than
6 lakhs in his time. He observed that this
dialect was prevalent in the whole of Kishen-
gunge subdivision as well as in the eastern part
of Sadar subdivision. The three succeeding
to the whole district of Purnea :
censuses record the following figures with respect
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12,02,568
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18,74,971 19,80,123-
dabit 1,47,299
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It is remarkable that in the first census
after the creation of Bihar and Orissa
separate province the number of Bengali-speakers
decreased by 6 lakhs and that of Hindi-speakers

swelled by that number in Purnea District. In the Census of 1911 the number of people with Bengali as mother tongue was 97 per cent of the total population in Kissengunge Subdivision wild

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In the Kishengunge subdivision, castes such as Satgope, Kaibarta, Koch, Rajbanshi, Nama-sudra, Bauri and Harhi exist, just as in the villages of Bengal and unlike Bihar.
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So the claim to have the Bengali-speaking tracts of the eastern portion of Purnea district included in West Bengal is by no means artificial.
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people outside their groups. A fair number out of these (including some 40,000 out of 2.82,000 Santals in Manbhum, about 5,000 Santals in Singhbhum, and all but 3,000 out of over a lakh of Bhumijes in Manbhum) have even given up their tribal language altogether and speak in Bengali exclusively. In respect of Bhumijes, believed to the autocthonous race in Manbhum, it was recorded as long ago as in 1832 by Mr. boazsq bas Dent who had been sent by the East India
A new factor has come to work as a sequel to the partition of Bengal and the peculiar position of West Bengal under the Radcliffe Award. Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling Districts have been cut off from the rest of West Bengal by the unjustifiable corridor which the Radcliffe Award has provided for the Pakistan

province resulting in interruption of communication between the northern and southern sections of West Bengal. Control over the route through Katihar, Barsoi and Kisengunge would in the circumstances be of inestimable benefit to Bengal; Company to quell a rising that "they spoke Bengali and were adopting Hindu customs". More than half a century later, Risley (the anthropologist) observed: "Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and speak only Bengali". In respect of aboriginals in the Santal Parganas, the Census Commissioner's observation about Bengali being very much more current than Hindi as a subsidiary language among the aboriginal people of the district has. a.ready been quoted in a previous paragraph. and it is to be hoped that Bihar will not long Conclusion this to Bengal.
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30. General remarks with respect to the tribal population in the areas dealt with above.
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Living side by side with Bengalees in the area under consideration (viz., Pargana Dhalbhum of Singbhum District, entire District of Manbhum, eastern fringe of Ranchi and Hazaribagh, whole of Jamtara sub-division, 2/3rds of Dumka subdivision, entire Pakur sub-division and ths of Rajmahal subdivision of the Santal Parganas, and such portions of Purnea District as lie to the east of the Mahananda-Kalindri river and of the Katihar-Manihari road) are large numbers of Santals, Bhumijes and other Aboriginal Tribes the great majority of whom speak among themselves in their own tribal languages, but in Bengali with
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red It is urged that in view of the self-evident and irrefutable claim of Bengal over the areas specified in the memorandum, the authorities should immediately investigate the whole question and order their transfer to Bengal, on the basis of the facts and figures supplied herein. The enquiry should not be a protracted process, as the figures supplied can be easily verified. Delay in a satisfactory settlement would only embitter feelings and add to the already existing tension. It will further postpone the beginning of constructive work and ameliorative projects which are absolutely necessary if the newly created provinces are to attain economic stability and cultural progress.

Aadil
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asoa gaidos-ibuiH odd
President,
NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION.
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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
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(a) Copy of a Resolution moved in the
Indian National Congress Session, 1911 by
Dr. (Sir) Tej Bahadur Sapru, seconded by
Mr. Parmeswar Lal and passed unani-
mously.
"That this Congress desires to place on
record its sense of profound gratitude to His
Majesty the King Emperor for the creation of a
separate province of Bihar and Orissa under a
Lieutenant-Governor in Council and prays
that, in readjusting the provincial boundaries,
the Government will be pleased to place all the ot
Bengali-speaking districts under one and the
same administration.".
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(b) Copy of Statement published in Janu-
Fusive load towery ary 1912 by a number of prominent leaders
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"In accordance with the Resolution of the
last Congress the sound principle would be that
enunciated therein, that all the Bengali-speaking
tracts should be brought under the Government
of Bengal and all the Hindi-speaking tracts
placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bihar.

According to this arrangement, the portions of
og Purnea and Malda to the east of the river
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Mahananda, which is the ethnic and linguistien farvib-di
boundary between Bengal and Bihar, should go to
Bengal and the western portions of these two
districts come to Bihar. Similarly, such tracts
in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing
language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and
the Hindi-speaking tracts of the districts remain
in Bihar. As for Chota Nagpur, the whole
district of Manbhum and Parganah Dhalbhum
of Singhbhum District are Bengali-speaking and
they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division
which is Hindi-speaking remainining in Bihar.'

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NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
their predecessors. Freedom will be a meaning-
less abstraction if it does not bring in its wake
a more just and generous national policy, if it
does not offer unrestricted scope for self-determin-
ation, if it does does not work for the creation of
homegeneous provinces which, while economically
self-sufficient and developing along their own
lines, will grow strong and thereby add to the
strength of the Indian Union of which they are

component parts. Unfortunately the present tendency seems to be towards an accentuation of narrowness and rigidity of outlook.

Congress has unequivocally accepted the principle of the self-determination of provinces on a linguistic basis and has embodied it in its election manifesto of 1945. The present reluctance there-fore to put into eflect its solemn declaration of policy is to say the least of it, curiously inexplicable and belies the noble tradition for which Congress stands. There is a hush-hush policy about the practical implementation of the principle which is sure to cause suspicion and resentment. The only explanation vouchsafed so far is that the time is not ripe for such action, as it would inflame provincial hostility and add to the tension of an already overcharged atmosphere. Let us analyse at some length this alleged excuse of inopportuneness. It implies an admission that Congress has no strength to enforce a just and equitable readjustment of boundaries between two sister provinces which are part of the same Union.

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This surely underestimates the great hold that the Congress exercises over the mass mind in every province. If Pandit Jawaharlal uses a a tenth part of the persuasive power he displayed in quelling the cominunal disturbances in Bihar provoked by the Noakhali atrocities in Bengal, if Mahatmaji just waves the tip of the magical wand by which he restored coinmunal harmony out of the seething turmoil in Calcutta, I am sure Bihar which is famous for her loyalty to Congress principles will gladly relinquish her hold on areas to which she has no legitimate claim. Sj. Rajendraprosad, the President of the Indian National Congress, who is a devoted follower of Mahatmaji and whose main task is to

espouse Congress ideals and translate them into reality, would have been better employed in persuading his province to give up what does not belong to her instead of urging her to prop up a a weak and tottering pretension by an artificial effort to diffuse Hindi in a predominantly Bengali-speaking area. It was not by these means that Congress became the great organisation that it is to-day and it is not by these tactics that Congress may expect to retain its hold on the future ages.

It is surpassingly strange that while readjustments of boundaries have either been sanctioned or confidently expected in respect of other provinces, a grim mysterious silence is allowed to hang over the claims of Bengal. Seraikela and Kharswan have been provisionally taken away from Bihar and merged in Orissa. That at any rate shows that the times are not inopportune for such a transfer. Bihar's frantic protests have been respected in the promised appointment of a tribunal to adjudicate between the rival claims of the two provinces. But strangely enough, the possibility that Bengal also might have a say in the matter has been completely overlooked. Bihar, in her claims on Seraikela, has displayed the true neighbourly spirit in seeking the collabortion of Bengal in resisting the counter-claims of Oris a. The neighbourly spirit was perhaps evoked by the fact that Bengal's contribution to the total figure was 30 p. c. while that of Bihar was only 3. We, however, welcome this collaboration of forces and hope that the partnership will be carried as long as the requirements of justice dictate, and that the principles invoked in establishing Bihar's claim on these states will also be applied in determining the claims of Bengal on areas now incorporated

in Bihar. The announcement in the papers that Andhra will be carved out of Madras and constituted into a separate province from April 1948 further weakens the plea of inopportunness put forward in shelving the consideration of the case of Bengal.

The justice of the claim put forward on behalf of Bengal does not admit of a moment's doubt. The main question on which the conference should concentrate is the devising of means to enforce this eminently just and reasonable demand. Mass opinion both in Bengal and Bihar must be fully mobilised for the attainment of the object. It has been reported that in some of the areas in Behar, coercion and intimidation are being resorted to, to prevent free expression of opinion on the part of the Bengalee residents.

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O NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION

This campaign of terrorisation must cease and we must be prepared to refer our case to impartial adjudication and accept the verdict however unpalatable it may be to either of the contesting parties. We have acquiesced in the perverse and iniquitous Radclifle Award; surely an award by our own Government which is bound to be more just and fair should find us in a more complaisant mood. It is a great pity that the task of organising opinion in support of the movement has fallen on a comparatively young organisation like New Bengal Associatian, It would have been more in the fitness of things that the Bengal Congress, which both officially rules the province and unofficially moulds public opinion should have come forward to assume the leadership. But strangely enough the response of the Con-

gress as a body and of individual congress leaders has been halting and half-hearted. This shyness and reticence, bred perhaps out of a feeling of uncertainty about the attitude of the Congress High Command, do not seem to have had much effect upon the provincial Congress leaders in Bihar and Orissa. They have jumped into the fray to safe-guard the vital interest of their respective provinces and have not set much store by the interpretation of their activities by the Centre. This, I venture to submit, is an eminently correct attitude. Provincial leadership should not be entrusted to people who have not the courage to advance the interest of their own province and who passively wait for a lead from the higher authorities. Leaders in the province should sometimes aspire to lead, instead of being always led, let us hope not invariably by the
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to
nose. They should correctly apprise the Central Government of strong, explosive feelings prevalent in the provinces and urge them appropriate action before an explosion is precipitated. It is a very sad thing to say that with the exception of Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, and the President of the Hindu Mahasava, no front-rank politician has come forward to champion the cause of Bengal, a cause which constitutes a vital condition of her very survival as a provincial unit. Let us hope that this tarrying behind argues no indecision or weakness of nerves, but a waiting for the rallying of forces and the advent of the auspicious moment. We expect that the Congress will behave as she had done in respect of the partition of Bengal, that she will come last but when she comes she will bring

overwhelming force along with her. It is in
this hope that we take it upon ourselves to
launch the campaign for building a better, a
richer and more homegeneous province of Bengal.
I am quite sure that worthier people will step
along the trail we have blazed and assume final
responsibility for conducting the campaign to a
successful issue. In the meantime we would
earnestly appeal to every son and daughter of
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Bengal and of Bengal beyond her present boun-
daries who are convinced of the justice of our
cause, to swell our rank and to effectively
organise public opinion, until it acquires the
momentum of an irresisdtile avalanche that will
sweep away all obstruction from its path of
progress and inevitable triumph.
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(Passed on 25th January, 1948, at a Conference at Ashutosh College
omo Hall, Calcutta. on the amalgamation of Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar
requr moitage and Orissa with West Bengal Province). as color tobu
vledaibe mi tea ed blurora
1. This Conference of the representative organisations of Bengal and of the repre-
sentatives of Bengalee Associations and delegates from the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar,
resolve that for cultural and linguistic consideration as well as in fulfilment of the pledge
contained in the Congress Election manifesto of the 11th December, 1945, the Bengali-
speaking tracts now in Bihar and Orissa viz, the, District of Manbhum, and the sub-divisions
of Dhalbhum, Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur, Rajmahal and that portion of Purnea which is to

the east of Mahananda-Kalindri River and Katihar-Manihari Road and the state of
Seraikela, and other similar areas should be forthwith amalgamated with West Bengal
Province.

Page - 253
YE 18
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-214-
KO NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATION
2. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly to appoint
a Delimitation Commission for giving effect to the foregoing resolution as early as possible.
do
3. This Conference urges on the Cabinet of West Bengal Government the immediate necessity of taking appropriate action to secure at an early date the amalgama-
Option of the Bengali-speaking tracts as mentioned in resolution No. 1 with West Bengal
Province on cultural and linguistic basis.
zoo doid 4. This Conference authorises New Bengal Association to take all necessary
action to secure the reunion of the Bengali-speaking areas now in Bihar and Orissa with
West Bengal Province, in collaboration with the Bengalee- Association of Bihar and other
interested bodies of Bihar and Orissa and the principal social and political organisations of
the West Bengal Province.
yllstoillo died
5. This Conference urges on the Indian Constituent Assembly that none of the liwo rights and privileges at present enjoyed by the tribal people in the Bengali-speaking areas.
under special Regulations may be in any way touched after their amalgamation with

West Bengal Province.
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BLACK-LISTING OF HOMESICK BENGALEES IN BIHAR.
(Copy of a letter from D. I. G., S. R. Ranchi, to S. P. Dhanbad, a fascimile
Elson os of which was published in the press on 29th January 1948.)
10 10)
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Office of the D. I. G., S. P., Ranchi.
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Ref. Your Memo. No. 1342 Con. dated 13-9-47.
Sub.-Names of important workers and sympathisers, who are agitating or trying to
work up agitation, for inclusion of borders of Bihar in west Bengal.
You should obtain reports on the activities of the individuals mentioned in the Memo.
under reference and if they are found agitating or activaly supporting the agitation, a full report
should be sent immediately.
olderigeg
It is necessary to keep running record of each individual for suitable action in future,
if necessary.
ivil-dne od naanidae M
[This supports the "Compaign of terrorisation"
referred to in P. 17, in the presidential speech.]
Vedic Press Ltd-1-2-48-2,000.

Sd. R. R. PRASAD,
D. I. G., S. R.

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215-
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МОЯЯ ПО ИО
MEMORANDUM
ON
Amalgamation of Bengali-speaking Tracts
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216
DIVISION OF PROVINCES ON LINGUISTIC BASIS
GANDHIJI'S VIEW
aten gnisqa-ilegned to nottemaglamA
NEW DELHI, JAN. 25.-Mahatma Gandhi in vitality from the centre as the latter in its
derived all
and
powers
authority
course of his prayer speech on Sunday evening turn
from the former. It would be fatal if it
dwelt on the reconsititution of provinces on lingusi led to narrow provincialism, mutual bickerings
Usled
tic basis and said that the Congress had already and rivalrism between Tamil and Andhra, for
adopted that principle and declared its intention instance, Bombay and Karnatak and so on.
to give effect to it constitutionally. But such
redistribution, Gandhiji warned, should not
militate against the organic unity of India.
Continuing Gandhiji
referred to the proceedings
of the Congress Working
Committee which had been
sitting for the last two

days. Gandhiji said that they had been discussing the question of reconsititution of provinces on linguistic basis. Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were both present in today's meeting.

The Congress had already adopted that principle and had declared its intention to give effect to it constitutionally as soon as they came to power as such redistribution would be conducive to the cultural advancement of country.

But such re-distribution should not militate against the organic unity of India. Autonomy did not and should not mean disruption or that thereafter provinces could go the way they chose independent of one another and of the Centre. If each province began to look upon it self as a separate, sovereign unit, India's independence would lose its meaning and with it would vanish the freedom of the various units as well.

The charter of India's independence as aonceived by the Congress was based on village cutonomy. But all the villages were to derive

IMPETUS TO CULTURE

The redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, Mahatma Gandhi said was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani wa to be the lingua franca-Rashtra Bhasha of India but it would not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be

the medium of instruction in the provinces-much less English. Its function was to make them realise their organic relationship with India. The world outside did not know them as Gujratis, Maharashtris, Tamilians, etc. but only as Indians.
We must therefor resolutely discourage an fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians. Subject to this paramount consideration, a linguistic redistribution of provinces would give an impetus to education and trade. He hoped that they would not need a boundary commission to delimit the frontiers on the new basis. That was the foreign way which they had discarded. The best thing would be for themselves to determine the boun daries by mutual agreement and consent and place the same before their Prime Minister for his final sanction. That would be true independence.
To go to a third party in the shape of a bonn dary commission for a settlement would be a negation of independence. They must evolve inter-dependence and mutual help.-A.P.I.

Bengali-Speaking areas in Six Districts of Bihar claimed by WEST BENGAL.
216
DARJEELING

JALPAIGURI
COOCH BEHAR
Kishanganj
PURNEA
Kobihor
DINAJPUR
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MALDA
Pakur
HAZARIBAGH
Deoghar
SANTAL PARGANAS
Dumka
Madhupur
Jamtara
Mihijam
BIRBHUM
Ramgarh
Ranchi
Silli
Kashmar
MANBHUM
•Jhalda Purilia
Bunda a
Sonahala
Tamer
KHARS
Jamsedpur
SARAL
KELA
Ghetsila
Dhalbhum
SINGHBHUM
MAYURBHANJ
Siva
Department of Geography

Calcutta University:
MURS HIDABAD
BURDWAN
BANKURA
MIDNAPORE
Buts wort
Present boundary between Bengal and Bihar is shown by thick dotted line up to Purnea in the North.

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PAMPHLET No. 2.
218
PRESIDENT
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PCA
KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES
Published by
KOSHAL SANGHA, BALANGIR.
1947.

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KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES

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INTRODUCTION.

Object. In the present book, an attempt has been made to give a few glimpses of Koshal as it was through the ages-glimpses one's eyes are likely to linger on, as one wanders down the long corridors of centuries from the dim and dusky borderline of myth and legend to the spacious regions of our own times. It is claimed to be neither a complete and connected sketch nor a clear and comprehensive picture. It merely presents a number of important aspects and episodes from a chequered and iridescent past of a great and glorious country and takes just a hurried but hopeful peep into the dark future ahead. Obviously, the work does not mean to cater for those who have drunk deep at the fountain of historical knowledge but even, if it serves to give some enlightenment and information to such people as live in Koshal but know it not, like the Frenchman who, while speaking prose all along, did not realise that he was doing so, the trouble taken for its publication, would be amply rewarded.

ZAW TI ZA JAH20US

Historical Retrospect. It is true, that the mist which veils the past of Koshal has, though perceptively, been thinned by the labours of various scholars, has, admittedly, not yet been actually lifted. Nevertheless, the outlines are definitely demarcated, the contours are perfectly clear and the milestones in her path of progress already well marked. It would appear that "the ancient Koshal kingdom of Pauranic fame was divided in two great divisions, the river Sarayu, serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Utter Koshal and the one to the south was called Dakhin Koshal" (Geography of Early Buddhism by Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., B. L., Ph.D., p. 6). With regard to the latter and we are concerned with it only-

Dr. Law continues, "A colonial projection of the Koshala Mahajanapada of the Madhyadesa was also situated in the Dakhina Janapada. Dakhina Koshal is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, during whose reign it was ruled over by king Mahendra, who was defeated by the Gupta monarch.

The
country is also mentioned in the itinerary of Yuan Chawang who locates Koshal in the
southern division. South Koshal comprised the whole of the Upper Valley of the Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narmada on the north to the
source of the Mahanadi itself on the south and from the valley of the Wenganga in the
west to the Hasda and Jonk rivers in the east (CAGI., p. 735). According to Dr. H. C.
Ray Chaudhuri it comprised the modern Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur districts
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KOSHAL
Brahmaput
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BAIBASHWATA MANU
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Krishno
averi
R. Mahanadi
A MAP
SHOWING THE
INDIAN EMPIRE OF
BAIBASHWATA MANU,
KOSHALEMPIRE OF ILA
& KOSHAL AS IT WAS
S. Udgata, 1947. dal siff healt
DI VIDED AMONGST ILA'S
FOUR SONS.
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KASHI-KOSHAL
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PURURAVA
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KOSHAL
GAYA-KOSHAL
UTKAL
BAIBASHWATA MANU
(Emperor of India.)
ILA mo
(King of Koshal.)
GAYA
King of Kashi-Koshal. King of Gaya-Koshal.

DAKSHIN-KOSHAL
bas
UTKAL
King of Utkal.
BINITASHWA
King of Dakshin-Koshal.

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259
BRISMO JAHIZOM
YAUTAI HTMTHIT
KOSHAL IN THE 6th & 7th CENTURIES A.D.
HO)
AMB JAHON
АШИЕ ИР
0001
Kingdom of
Indrabal Keshari or
Maharastra
Koshal Gupta (6th Century).
Boundary of the kingdom
of Janamejaya Mahabhaba
Gupta (7th Century).
Ujjayini
Tamralipti
ตาลา
R. Mahanadi
KOSHAL
ส aด
KALING R. Rushikulya
R. Godavari
Andhra
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KOSHAL
EMPIRE
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OF
THE KOSHAL GUPTAS.
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CAUT
Athara-garjats' Confederacy of Koshal.
According to old research:-
I. Sambalpur and Sone-
pur, 1, 2.
II. Patna, 3.
III. Khariar, 4.
IV. Gangpur, 5.
V. Bonai, 6.
VIII. Angul, 9.
According to recent research:-
Capital territory :-
Sambalpur, Sonepur, Patna
and Khariar, 1, 2, 3, 4; and
the
following are the
Athara-garjats under it :-

I. Gangpur, 5.
II. Bonai, 6.
III. Bamra, 7.
Rairakhol, 8.
Angul, 9.
Dhenkanal, 10.
Athmallik, 11.
VI. Bamra, 7.
VII. Rairakhol, 8.
IV.
V.
VI.
IX.
X.
Dhenkanal, 10.
Athmallik, 11.
VII.
VIII.
IX. Khimdi, 13.
XI. Baudh, 12.
Baudh, 12.
XII. Khimdi, 13.
XIII. Ganjam, 14.
XIV. Phuljhar, 15.
XV.
Bindra-Nawagarh, 16.
XVI. Nandpur (Jayapur), 17.
XVII. Bastar, 18.
XVIII. Borasambar, 19.
X. Phuljhar, 15.
XI.
Bindra-Nawagarh, 16.
XII. Nandpur (Jayapur), 17.
XIII. Bastar, 18.
XIV.
Borasambar, 19.
XV. Sakti, 20.
XVI. Bargarh, 21.
XVII. Pallahara, 22.

XVIII. Daspalla, 23.
(4)
223.
KOSHAL EMPIRE
OF THE
THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
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S. Udgata, 1946.
Area (Recent Research).
Boundary (Old Research).
KOSHAL EMPIRE
IN INDIA.
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A MAP OF THE ATHARAGARJATS
CONFEDERACY OF KOSHAL, THE
SAMBALPURI-SPEAKING
AREA AND THE PROPOSED
19
KOSHAL
UNION.
2043
45
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41
SAMBALPURI
AREA
38
SPEAK
49
26
27
28
32 31
34
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S
DAUG
MA ant
Note:
1. Changbhakar, E.S.
22.
Pallahara, E.S.
2. Korea, E.S.
23.
Dhenkanal, E.S.
3. Surguja, E.S.
24.
Talcher, E.S.
4. Udaipur, E.S.
*25.
5. Jashpur, E.S.
*26.
*6. Raigarh Raigarh,
27.
*7. Bargarh
E.S.
* 8. Sakti, E.S.
*9. Chandrapur (C.P.).

*10. Sarangarh, E.S.
*11. Gangpur, E.S.
*12. Phuljhar and Deori
(C.P.).
*13. Borasambar (Orissa).
*14. Sambalpur (Orissa).
*15. Bamra, E.S.
*16. Bonai, E.S. JA
17. Keonjhar, E.S.
Rairakhol, E.S.
Athmallik, E.S.
Angul (Orissa).
28. Hindol, E.S.
29. Athgarh, E.S.
30. Tigiria, E.S.
31. Baramba, E.S.
32. Narsinghpur, E.S.
33. Khandpara, E.S.
34. Daspalla, E.S.
35. Nayagarh, E.S.
36. Ranpur, E.S.
*37. Baudh, E.S.
*38. ASonepur, E.S.
*39. Patna, E.S.
33
S. Udgata, 1946.
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18
A
Athara-garjats.
mur Boundary of proposed
Koshal Union.
Boundary of Sambalpuri-
speaking Area.
PROPOSED
KOSHAL
IN INDIA.
CODO

43. Kawardha, E.S.
49.
44.
Khairagarh, E.S.
18. Mayurbhanj, E.S.
19. Seraikella, E.S.
20.
40.
*41.
Kalahandi, E.S.
Khariar (Orissa).
45.
Chhuikhadan, E.S.
50.
46.
Nandgaon, E.S.
Kharsawan, E.S.
*42.
Bindra-Nawagarh
47.
Kanker, E.S.
21. Nilgiri, E.S.
(C.P.). O
48.
Bastar, E.S.
A part of Koraput
District (Orissa).
A part of Raipur
District (C.P.).
51. Kondmal (Phulbani-
Orissa).
JRHOAG
* indicates the Athara-garjats of Koshal Confederacy in the 19th Century.
E.S. indicates the States in the Eastern States Agency.
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LINGUISTIC MAP OF KOSHAL.
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A presses
S. Udgata, 1946.
III
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VI
INDO ARY
ARYAN
211
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LANGUAGE
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DRAVIDIAN
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BANGUAGE
INDIAN
LANGUAGES.
192
A CHART OF INDIAN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT.
IV
PRATICHYA
INDO-ARYAN
II
PRAKRIT
KOSHALIYA
(1)
ARDHA-MAGADHI
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(a)
AWADHI
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(b)
BAGHELI

(c)
LARIYA
SoloM
225
VI
MADHYADESHIYA
as VII
DAKSHINATYA
Aug(d)
ORIYA
(9)
SAMBALPURI.
(6)
(2)
KUT MAGADHI
(3.0)
(3)
PURBA-MAGADHI
(e)
BENGALI
(f)
ASSAMESE
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49
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283
INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES
IN
PROPOSED
KOSHAL UNION.
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JAHED
S. Udgata, 1947.
Angul (Orissa), 34.
Athgarh, 38.
Athmallik, 33.
Bamra, 13.
Baramba, 40.
Bastar, 28.
Baudh, 32.
Bindra-Nawagarh (C.P.), 21.
Bonai, 14.
Chandarpur (C.P.), 7.
Changbhakar, 1.
Chhuikhadan, 48.
Daspalla, 42.
Dhenkanal, 35.

Gangpur, 9. mayb
Hindol, 37.
Jashpur, 5.
Kalahandi, 30.
Kanker, 19.
Kawardha, 46.
Kondmal (Orissa), 31.
Koraput (Orissa), 29.
Korea, 2.
Mayurbhanj, 16.
Nandgaon, 49.
Narsinghpur, 41.
Nayagarh, 44.
Nilgiri, 36.
Pallahara, 27.
Patna, 23.
Phuljhar & Deori (C.P.), 10.
Raigarh, 8.
Raipur (C.P.), 20.
Rairakhol, 25.
00
Ranpur, 45.
花
Sakti, 6.
A
Sarangarh, 11.
Sambalpur (Orissa), 12.
Seraikella, 17.
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Sonepur, 24.ods moilslugo T
Surguja, 3.
Keonjhar, 15.
Khairagarh, 47.
Talcher, 26.
Khandpara, 43.
Tigiria, 39.
Kharsawan, 18.
Udaipur, 4.
Khariar (Orissa), 22.

(8)
REFERENCE:
Glass Factory.
Jute Mill.
Thermal Station.
Vanadium Factory.
Match Factory.
Paper Mill.
Porcelain Factory.
Plastics Factory.
Distillery.
Aluminium Factory.
Chemical Factory.
Al
Copper Factory.
Asbestos Factory.
Kaynite Factory.
Graphite Factory.
Cement Factory.
Iron Factory.
Cotton Mill.
Hydro Electric Station.
Rice Mill.
Cattle Rearing & Dairy.
Diamond.
Coal.
Tile Factory.
Sugar Factory.
Indicates existing ones.
226

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227
264
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44
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227
NOTE:
1. Changbhakar.
2. Korea.
3. Surguja.
4. Udaipur.
5.
Jashpur.
23
6.
Sakti.
22
32
29
KOSHAL
DIVIDED
7. Raigarh.
8. Gangpur.
9. Sarangarh.
10. Phuljhar and Deori
(C.P.).

11. Sambalpur.
12. Bamra.
13. Bonai.
14.
Bindra-Nawagarh.
15. Khariar.
16.
Patna.
17. Sonepur.
18.
Rairakhol.
19.
Talcher.
S. Udgata, 1947.
20.
Pallahara.
21.
A part of Koraput
District (Orissa).
22. Keonjhar.
23. Mayurbhanj.
24.
Seraikella.
25.
Kharsawan.
26. Nilgiri.
27.
Dhenkanal.
KOSHAL
UNITED
28. Athgarh.
29. Tigiria.
30. Baramba.
31. Khandpara.
32. Nayagarh.
33. Ranpur.
34. Hindol.
35. Narasinghpur.
36. Angul (Orissa).

37.
Daspalla.
38.
Athmallik.
39.
Baudh.
40. Kondmal (Phulbani-
Orissa).
41. Kalahandi.
42. Kawardha.
43. Khairagarh.
Chhuikhadan.
Nandgaon.
44.
S
Area about 70,000
45.
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Kanker.
square miles.
Income about Rs. 6,50,00,000.
Population about 10,000,000.
S. Udgata, 1947.
dobaki
Oujdest
47. Bastar.
48. Chandarpur (C.P.).
49.
A part of Raipur
District (C.P.). mok

and occasionally even a part of Ganjam. Its capital was Sripura, the modern

Sripur,
about 40 miles east by north from Raipur (PHAI., pp. 337-338)." He also mentions that "in Puranic literature Tosala is always associated with Dakhin Koshal and distinguished from Kalinga."
the rod bita auota has omil ddiw boala
ani Origin of Confederation. In this connection it is interesting to note that the conception of the 18 or 36 Gadjats Confederation was also introduced from the
original Koshal into its colonial extension, i.e., Dakhin Koshal. Mr. B. M. Barua says
(vide Indian Culture, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 809): "The enigmatic expression nava Malla-i nava Laccha-i Kasi-Kosalaga atharasa vi ganarayano occurs in two places of
the Jaina Agama, first, in the Kalpasutra, in connection with Mahavira's demise ; and secondly, in the Nirayavali Sutra, in connection with the war between Cedaga
(Cetaka), the applauded king of Vesali,, and Kuniya (Kunika-Ajatasatru), the usurper
king of Magadha." Prof. Jacobi, evidently following the authority of the commentary,
translates it: "The eighteen confederate kings of Kasi and Kosala, the nine Mallakis
and nine Licchavis." *** ****** Dr. Ray Chaudhuri takes
the expression in the Kalpasutra to refer to nine Mallakis as having formed a league
with nine Licchavis and the eighteen ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala" (Political History, 3rd Ed., p. 90). As for the possibility of there being "eighteen ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala," Dr. Ray Chaudhuri cites a Pali reference locating the settlement of the Kalamas in Kosala, and two references, each of which indicates that the Sakyas were
Khattiyas acknowledging some sort of suzerainty of king Pasenadi of Kosala. Thus
the presumption raised is that there were eighteen ganarajas of Kasi-Kosala in addition
to the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, all of whom were united by an alliance between them.
The expression, as
explained in the Kalpadrumaka Likavyakhya, refers to nine chiefs of Kasi, all of Mallaki origin, and nine chiefs of Kosala, all of Lecchaki origin, making up

together
eighteen ganarajas, all samantas or vassal chiefs under the supremacy of Cetaka,
maternal
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uncle of Mahavira.
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As I
interpret it, the expression signifies the nine Mallas and the nine Licchavis, on the
whole, eighteen ganarajas (ruling clans) who were Kasi-Kosalaga in the sense that
they derived their family prestige from their original connection with the dynasties
of Kasi and Kosala." Thus the two interpretations, the first suggested by
the Jaina commentator and the second by me, agree as to the number eighteen
prefixed to ganarajas representing a total made up of nine Mallakis and nine
Licchavis but differ as to the meaning of the phrase Kasi-Kosalaga or Kasi-
Kosalaka.
So we see how the idea of 18 or 36 Gadjats Confederation originated in these
tracts.
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10
KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES
-229-
For any one who pursues the story of Koshal's early splendours-who remembers that she was once the mother of not only brave warriors and great statesmen but also of famous poets and philosophers that once she was a seat of learning and the cradle of a unique culture which yet bids defiance to the caprices and canker of time, that once her masons and sculptors played with lime and stone and her artists with life and death and all that the eye can take in, it is scarcely possible to consider her pristine greatness and her present degradation without a sigh or a tear! t
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aysa siis Indo21 and
Unification of Koshal. However, it is a matter of great solace and relief that the people of Koshal have begun to realise their responsibility and feel that the time has come when they ought to do something to retrieve their past glory and prestige.

A movement for the unification of Koshal and formation of a separate Koshal Province has been afoot. The claims of Koshal to a separate unit on the grounds of geographical position, historical background, administrative convenience, financial stability, ethnological unity, cultural distinctiveness, etc., are self-evident. To state the case is to prove it. Thus united Koshal will be a stable, prosperous and homo-geneous unit with an area of about 68,000 sq. miles, population of about 95 lacs and an immediate revenue of about 6 crores of rupees. A comparison with other pro-vinces would amply bear out that the claims of Koshal cannot easily be ignored, if justice and fair-play guide the future redistribution of provincial boundaries even though our voice is not clamant enough nor our leaders in the foremost rank

with
those who are to decide the destinies of future India.
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Koshal compared.
Province.
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Population 1941 Census.
Revenue in crores.
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20 INTRODUCTION ABOX

Hold Example of Ireland and Scotland. It is rather unfortunate that some interests
oppose the formation of the Koshal Province and agitate for union of Koshal with
Kalinga or Utkal or British Orissa. Such a proposal simply betrays a short-sighted policy and those who advocate it forget their historical moorings and build without
foundation. We must learn from others mistakes. It is notorious how the union of England and Ireland was forged in the teeth of stubborn opposition by the sober
and far-sighted elements and how, as a result, Ireland was reduced to a colonial dependency to a mere appurtenance of England, and became the scorn and the commiseration of all other countries. It is also well known how Ireland realised her
fatal mistake in course of time and started to set it right. After bitter struggle and
strife, untold suffering and hardship she has at last succeeded to cut asunder the
ignoble bond that tied her to the apron strings of England and has gained back her
soul and prestige, position and prosperity.
-99
Some might be under a misconception and cite the union of Scotland with England
as an example to prove the contrary. But those who have studied the relations of
Scotland and England know it well enough that Scotland has also fared no better in
this union and within a short time she also is going to part company with England.
It would appear from an article recently published named, "The Future of Scotland'
by Sir Robert Bruce Lockhart, who was Director-General of Political Warfare during
the recent war, in which he says that, "The only purely national political body in Scotland to-day is the Scottish Nationalist Party. Its aims are clear, concise and extreme. They are self-government of Scotland, and the restoration of Scottish national sovereignty by the establishment of a democratic Scottish Government

whose authority will be limited only by such agreements as will be freely entered."
tellinas
Further, the same author says that "everything was done to sustain the heart (England) the limbs were sacrificed. And Scotland was the remotest limb" and that "this picture of present-day Scotland is sombre but it is not exaggerated..... the parliamentary record of Scottish M.P.s is a sorry tale of neglect of Scottish affairs and slavish obedience to the whips of the great English parties." And later on, he continues "radio is anglicising the Scottish vernacular which is the essence
of Scotland's national culture."
So Scotland too has realised to its bitter cost how unfortunate and harmful this artificial union has proved in the long run.
It is hoped that those who suggest a union of Koshal and Utkal should think seriously on all these aspects before they lend their support to such a move.

Talking of Scottish vernacular one is reminded of the Sambalpuri language which
is spoken by the major portion of Koshal by over 75 lacs of people.tol f
dou
o Sambalpuri Language. It is alleged that Sambalpuri language is a dialect of the Oriya language and hence it is not necessary to make it the vehicle of expression
in writing. People have been claiming that the Assamese also is a dialect of the Bengali language but this has not prevented it from becoming the language of literary
expression as well. Every tyro of comparative philology knows that dialects have developed and blossomed forth into literary languages in course of time. It all depends upon the richness and flexibility of the dialect, on the opportunities and scope it gets for development as well as political support and sanction that it can command behind it. A dialect may remain a dialect and an appendage to some other

language for all times or it may, given the facility for an independent growth, develop into a separate and different language altogether. It is an established philological axiom that geographical, political or occupational divisions between an originally similarly speaking group have led to dialect divisions also, and ultimately to different languages the difference between dialect and language being one of degree and not of kind. Dialect is more a matter of pronunciation and grammar forms, language more of vocabulary. In the case of Sambalpuri language, it is not only a difference of pronunciation and grammar forms, but also of vocabulary-not only of tone, tenor and intonation, but also of temper, emphasis, mode and meaning. It is also well known that modern philologists are of opinion that the Celtic and Teutonic equally with the historic Greek and Latin and the still more ancient Persian and Sanskrit are all dialects of a primitive language which is now lost, the forms of which are not to be found fully or alone in any of its descendants; but partly preserved, partly mutilated, partly lost, in each and all of them, are only to be gathered up from a careful collation of the whole. Again it is a settled principle of philological develop-ment that the predominance of a State or City which is also an intellectual and politi-cal centre, naturally promotes the spread of its own dialect. In Greece the dominance of Athens made general the use of Attic; in ancient Italy there was a similar defusion of the Latin of Rome, as in medieval Italy-Sicilian and as in modern Italy-Tuscan. In England the Wessex dialect and its descendants similarly have led the way in literature. Nearer home we find that because Cuttack happens to be the political and intellectual centre of Orissa, the Cuttack dialect has monopolised the literary form of expression in Oriya language and gradually has succeeded in ousting the standard form of the Oriya language which was a sort of a refined form not spoken

in any part but only used for the purposes of literary expression just like Sanskrit.
Thus judged from the above principles of linguistic development the possibilities of
the Sambalpuri language are great, and if Sambalpur becomes the political and in-
tellectual centre of Koshal, it is sure that within a short time the Sambalpuri dialect
will grow into a literary language and fulfil a great and long-felt need.

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INTRODUCTION
13
States and Democracy.-Before we conclude, we must examine one more important aspect in this connection. It stares us in the face and if we ignore it we do so at our own peril. We see that most of the Koshal Province consists of Indian
States what we call to-day in common parlance "Indian India" to distinguish it from "British India." This distinction is a necessity-a technical necessity-of the exigency of the moment. We all understand that this division is only a political and administrative one. It is neither natural nor geographical. The people of British India and the people of Indian India are not at all different in any way that
really matters. The people of Patna State which is in Indian India and those of Sambalpur District which is in British India or similarly the people of Bastar State and those of Bindra-Nawagarh cannot be distinguished. The prosperity of India as
a whole its political well-being as well as its economic advancement is dependent
both on Indian India as also on British India. These two divisions are as it were the
two wheels of the great Chariot of India. If India is to reach its goal, then both these
two wheels must work in unison. The destinies of these two parts are so interlinked
and intermingled that all attempts to separate them would be futile. They would

sink or swim together. So it is unthinkable that when, with the coming of national
independence and democracy, British India would bask in the sunshine of freedom,
Indian India would continue to be haunted by the shadow of slavery. The sooner the princes realise this the better it would be for all concerned. It is the proud privilege of the princes to be masters of their people but at the same time they should
not forget that they are also servants of the people. They should feel that there are
nobler and higher things beyond the narrow horizon of their autocratic whims and
they should realise that the office of kingship is not irreconcilable with the idea of
democracy. Democracy can very well flourish even under rulers. Great Britain, which is regarded as the champion of democratic countries and is said to have the
best form of democratic government, has still retained the office of kingship.
Mahatma Gandhi on April 20th in 1940 wrote in Harijan: "Whilst, therefore, I have
no difficulty in generally endorsing Shri Jayprakash's proposition in terms of non-
violence, I cannot endorse his proposition about the princes. Whatever settlement
is arrived at the nation will have to carry out in full. The settlement is sure to result
in giving the people of the States the same right of self-government within their States as the people of the other parts of India will enjoy. They will have freedom of speech, a free press and pure justice guaranteed to them. Perhaps Shri
Jayprakash has no faith in the princes automatically surrendering their autocracy.
I have. First because they are just as good human beings as we are, and secondly
because of my belief in the potency of genuine non-violence." So the States should
have a liberal constitution and healthy conventions on democratic lines, so that they
can be welded with the British Indian provinces to form an All-India Union. Thus

the salvation of the princes as well as the people lies in having responsible government
in Indian States and then joining the Indian Union.

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KOSHAL THROUGH THE AGES
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TomTo conclude, the proposed Koshal Province should have responsible government
at the provincial centre as well as in the various State-units, and if it comes to be achieved with the Grace of God and the co-operation of her neighbours, Koshal will
march forward in rapid strides to plenty and prosperity and will be able soon to take
her rightful place in the Future Indian Republic.
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Heart of Koshal
Scale: 1 Inch = 40 Miles..
6, BENTINCK STREET, CALCUTTA

GLEANINGS
FROM
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Rayalseema
REPRESENTATIONS Province
BY
A RAYALSEEMA
CONGRESS
ORGANISER
ANDHRA AND TAMIL DISTRICTS
Anishad Bandineloa ke parsed or

1. Three Linguistic Provinces

Interest is once again focused on the Linguistic division of our province. The Andhra-Tamil rivalry is an old affair. Some people have really prospered by exploiting this tribalism among the Andhras. Last week some one claimed all the areas between the Tungabhadra and Cape Comorin for the Tamil Nad Province. In my 50 years of public life a more preposterous proposal never appeared in the press.

TASHA HT

Six of the twelve Andhra districts are along the East Coast while the inland five districts known as Rayalseema are in the Eastern Ghats. This area covers 3rds of the province called Andhra. But it contains only 3 rd of the Andhras.

Among the coastal Andhras the best patriot is the person who uses the most indecent language against the Tamilians and their leaders. The crux of the problem is the city of Madras. Rayalseema contains a mixed population like Madras. But Telugu is universally spoken.

The most rational way of dividing the Andhra Tamil Districts is to form 3 groups. The Tamilian group will

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consist of 10 or more districts with its capital in Madras or Trichy. The 2nd group will consist of Rayalseema Districts with their capital in Madras and includes all areas between Bellary and Madras. The 3rd group will contain the 6 coastal Districts with their capital at Bezwada or Guntur. This may be the final shape of things to come. The people in the Andhra Coastal districts became unpopular on account of the wrong ways of dealing with the people of Rayalseema who hate them even as Andhras hate Tamili-

They became as notorious as the Nazi-Germans.
ans.
The Andhra Coastal Districts are well developed deltas but the Rayalseema Districts with their vast mineral wea- Ith and vacant arable lands are yet to be exploited. Com- mon people in these Western Districts are against joining with the Coastal Andhras for many reasons. Madras should have been proclaimed as a free city.
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ai bomoqqe 2. Andhra Province mars til alfdag
THE ANDHRA PROVINCE RESOLUTION in the Constitu- ent Assembly was sponsored at an unfortunate hour in our political history. In our present situation the two Andhra leaders, Sri. Prakasam and Gopal Reddi, stand in a factious tangle. It will take several months to bring in a dynamic situation that will produce a new leader or restore them to popular confidence.
The coastal Andhra Districts have become a big prob lem in our public life. The Andhras are a generous, fair and frank people. But only two groups of men occupy the stage for over two decades. There is a group of men for daring intrigue and factionism which has captured Prakasam. A second group of adventurers calculating and

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extremely jealous have captured Gopal Reddi. In both the groups there are several men whose hobby has been cruel criticism scoffing at rivals and power politics. These made a bad impression on people in western countries. districts There have been two powerful factions in Kistna and Guntur Districts which often divided the Provincial Coun- cil's also ever since Morley-Minto reforms. Prakasam got the support of one faction and Gopal Reddi is honoured by the other faction. Each of these factions consists of milli- ons of people.
msfgood
If the Andhra Province should become an accomplish

ed fact by the superior influence of coastal leaders like Prakasam and Pattabhi, some of the scenes now in Northern India will be enacted here which will not be a pleasant sight.

Therefore our friends of the Consambly have to wait in patience for a better hour to divide the province. Tadjiv

3. Two Hostile Camps

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There have been two parallel movements among the Andhras, for more than two decades. The Andhra Pro vince movement has been run into wild tribal sloganism by workers in coastal areas while the workers in West Andhra districts have been running a rival fanatical move ment for a sepearate Rayalaseema Province. The coastal Andhras are notorious for their oral extavagance and schem. ing; while western inland Andhras are ever under power of emotions and impulses. The coastal Andhra leaders have control of press and platform in outside places like Madras,

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Mountains and forests seperate the coastal districts from Rayalaseema. There have been no communal affinities nor matrimonial alliances between them. If they are united by force of a sudden legislation the story of Palestine will be repeated in the west Andhra Districts.

4. Want of Affinities

The people of Rayalaseema strongly protest against their inclusion with coastal Andhras into a single province. In tastes and traditions, in cultures and qualities Rayalaseema people markedly differ and refuse to surrender their vast potential wealth in minerals, forests and waste lands. The coastal deltas are among the richest tracts in India but they suffer from over population. There are landless and job- less millions. A small percentage of population have lands. In a few years a communist republic is possible in Kistna

district which is the richest part of the province and is also the head quarters of Communist party in the province with a Press and a daily paper.

Rayalseema people wish to form a seperate province including districts between Bellary and Madras with major Portions of North Arcot, Nellore, and Chengulpet. These eight districts have powerful Reddies who have no communal affinities with coastal people. Theft and forgery are not known in Rayalseema. There is scheming speculation and bragging along coastal Andhras who are not very popular.

The inclusion of districts and Taluqs should be based on popular consent. Census reports and bold resolutions in distant cities will never give possesion of properties and populations. Against the mad claims of coastal orators

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West Andhras say 'We have strong hands and sharp knives'. They will ask for a plebiscite if Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel precipitates a situation. In North India Provinces the Boundaries Commision went too early and before transferring populations. A civil war was the result. The terms of reference should include the possibility of three Provin. ces and their early formation. The present grouping of Taluqs and districts was the result of historical events but is not based on any scientific principles and is not suitable for our present needs. The whole of this composite-Province should go into the melting pot but new formations should be based on the wishes of the people.

5. Complex Problems

These 2 groups of districts greatly differ in their angles and approaches of problems of Production and distribution of industry and development.

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The large coastal plains and the cool sequestered inland valleys between Bengal and Tamilnad are populated by a prolific race called Telugus or Andhras who may exceed three crores in number. Sullen and secluded, rough and forbiding Bay of Bengal protected them on the eastern side. Can they be hurdled into a single province ? The idea of a linguistic province is thirty years old when our ideas of a province were vague and remote, when the British authority in India was poised between the India minister in London and bureaucratic steal frame in India, when the regional language was confined to social life. After the departure of the British the province-idea has gained a dyna mic freshness. Now the formation of a province has become a most urgent problem and our supreme interest as

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Decades ago the Andh-
Our High Schools and
province is the seat of power now.
ra University began to function.
colleges work under affiliation with Madras University.
If we should build more colleges and schools we should have a seperate University which becomes possible when province and power are perched in our own hands. Freedom means power to orgnise resourses of wealth. The central federation is responsible for finance and, currency and keeps credits with foreign banking.
Prakasam's scheme is neither scientific nor acceptable
'to inland districts.
with anoid
m
6. Pacts
If our pinchbeck dictator Prakasam is a master in tacties and expert in approaches, we need not be dismayed, when we organise ourselves and begin to depend on oursel ves he will come round to lead us. We need not be afraid

of our friends who have dedicated their lives to some coastal Andhra leaders. These opportunists will never miss the bus.

When we had no real Power, we thought and spoke in terms of places. We made pacts with northern leaders for mere places as in 'Sreebagh Pact', Now our enemies are those who want to settle the 'places' and those who accept weightage are no better than Harijans.

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od This moment for a seperate province will help us to become masters of our own destiny. We have to face our problems and situations directly without depending on cunning coastal Andhras.

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There is no altruism at the national level. It acts well in limited social life and best between individuals. The era of Pacts is over and we refuse to compromise the future of our Posterity.

Vigilence is the life of democracy. Our people should learn their rights and duties and be watchful to cooperate in a spirit of service.

When we were in craven subservience to foreign power it made no difference whether we were under the Practical Tamilians or vociferous Andhras. We learnt a new way of Jife in struggle period. We lived in simplicity and with the sense of a cause to work and suffer for. We should not fight the shy of the new Vision. There is no tract in India more resourceful and potential than Rayalseema and we have to work for it and the new way of life will take us to the right goal.

7. Anologies

Structurally the Andhra areas go into two provinces. The plea for a single andhra Province scares away several

Andhra areas now included in the Tamilnad.
Zen.
The provincial states are run in Australia with 6 million populaton. A great nation of seven million people have lived in a district called Holland. Travancorein area equal to one of our districts became a leading Province with the magic power of freedom. Even before losing Sylhet Assam had five crores of Revenue; Adibasi districts in Behar want a seperate province; Cooch Behar may seperate in a few months. A strange phylosophy of limitations

was preached by the learned Andhra orators when Orissa wanted a free life! When the threefold exploitation by the British, the Tamilians and coastal Andhras ends real Swaraj will reach the poor docile people of Rayalseema. Small provinces like Travancore, Baroda or Orissa are known to work better in a new deal than big provinces.
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SANTHAL PARGANAS
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Map after Greenson.
vide 1.8, para 26 the Memorandum)
General Secretary.
New Bengal Association.
27-B, Chittaranjan Avenue
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GLEANINGS
FROM
REPRESENTATIONS

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Rayalseema
Province
BY
A RAYALSEEMA
CONGRESS
ORGANISER
ANDHRA AND TAMIL DISTRICTS
1. Three Linguistic Provinces
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A T
Interest is once again focused on the Linguistic division of our province. The Andhra-Tamil rivalry is an old affair. Some people have really prospered by exploiting this tribalism among the Andhras. Last week some one claimed all the areas between the Tungabhadra and Cape Comorin for the Tamil Nad Province. In my 50 years of public life a more preposterous proposal never appeared in the press.
Six of the twelve Andhra districts are along the East Coast while the inland five districts known as Rayalseema are in the Eastern Ghats. This area covers 3rds of the province called Andhra. But it contains only rd of the Andhras.
Among the coastal Andhras the best patriot is the person who uses the most indecent language against the Tamilians and their leaders. The crux of the problem is the city of Madras. Rayalseema contains a mixed population like Madras, But Telugu is universally spoken.
The most rational way of dividing the Andhra Tamil Districts is to form 3 groups. The Tamilian group will

consist of 10 or more districts with its capital in Madras or

Trichy. The 2nd group will consist of Rayalseema Districts with their capital in Madras and includes all areas between Bellary and Madras. The 3rd group will contain the as. The
6 coastal Districts with their capital at Bezwada or Guntur. This may be the final shape of things to come. The people in the Andhra Coastal districts became unpopular on account of the wrong ways of dealing with the people of Rayalseema who hate them even as Andhras hate Tamilians. They became as notorious as the Nazi-Germans.
The Andhra Coastal Districts are well developed deltas but the Rayalseema Districts with their vast mineral wealth and vacant arable lands are yet to be exploited. Common people in these Western Districts are against joining with the Coastal Andhras for many reasons. Madras should have been proclaimed as a free city. Guate
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2. Andhra Province
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THE ANDHRA PROVINCE RESOLUTION in the Constituent Assembly was sponsored at an unfortunate hour in our political history. In our present situation the two Andhra leaders, Sri. Prakasam and Gopal Reddi, stand in a factious tangle. It will take several months to bring in a dynamic situation that will produce a new leader or restore them to popular confidence.
The coastal Andhra Districts have become a big problem in our public life. The Andhras are a generous, fair and frank people. But only two groups of men occupy the stage for over two decades. There is a group of men for daring intrigue and factionism which has captured Prakasam. A second group of adventurers calculating and

extremely jealous have captured Gopal Reddi.

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In both the
groups there are several men whose hobby has been cruel criticism scoffing at rivals and power politics. These made a bad impression on people in western countries. districts There have been two powerful factions in Kistna and Guntur Districts which often divided the Provincial Council's also ever since Morley-Minto reforms. Prakasam got the support of one faction and Gopal Reddi is honoured by the other faction. Each of these factions consists of millions of people.
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fT If the Andhra Province should become an accomplished fact by the superior influence of coastal leaders like Prakasam and Pattabhi, some of the scenes now in Northern India will be enacted here which will not be a pleasant sight.
Therefore our friends of the Consambly have to wait in patience for a better hour to divide the province.
3. Two Hostile Camps
There have been two parallel movements among the Andhras, for more than two decades. The Andhra Province movement has been run into wild tribal sloganism by workers in coastal areas while the workers in West Andhra districts have been running a rival fanatical movement for a sepearate Rayalaseema Province. The coastal Andhras are notorious for their oral extavagance and scheming; while western inland Andhras are ever under power of emotions and impulses. The coastal Andhra leaders have control of press and platform in outside places like Madras.

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Mountains and forests seperate the coastal districts from Rayalaseema. There have been no communal affiniţies nor matrimonial alliances between them. If they are united by force of a sudden legislation the story of Palestine will be

repeated in the west Andhra Districts.

4. Want of Affinities

The people of Rayalaseema strongly protest against their inclusion with coastal Andhras into a single province. In tastes and traditions, in cultures and qualities Rayalaseema people markedly differ and refuse to surrender their vast potential wealth in minerals, forests and waste lands. The coastal deltas are among the richest tracts in India but they suffer from over population. There are landless and job-less millions. A small percentage of population have lands. In a few years a communist republic is possible in Kistna district which is the richest part of the province and is also the head quarters of Communist party in the province with a Press and a daily paper.

Rayalseema people wish to form a seperate province including districts between Bellary and Madras with major Portions of North Arcot, Nellore, and Chengulpet. These eight districts have powerful Reddies who have no com-munal affinities with coastal people. Theft and forgery are not known in Rayalseema. There is scheming specula-tion and bragging along coastal Andhras who are not very popular.

The inclusion of districts and Taluqs should be based on popular consent. Census reports and bold resolutions in distant cities will never give possesion of properties and populations. Against the mad claims of coastal orators

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GLEANINGS
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Rayalseema
Province
BY
A RAYALSEEMA
CONGRESS

ORGANISER

ANDHRA AND TAMIL DISTRICTS

1. Three Linguistic Provinces A T

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West Andhras say We have strong hands and sharp knives'. They will ask for a plebiscite if Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhai Patel precipitates a situation. In North India Provinces the Boundaries Commision went too early and before transferring populations. A civil war was the result. The terms of reference should include the possibility of three Provin. ces and their early formation. The present grouping of Taluqs and districts was the result of historical events but is not based on any scientific principles and is not suitable for our present needs. The whole of this composite-Province should go into the melting pot but new formations should be based on the wishes of the people. befni od
5. Complex Problems
These 2 groups of districts greatly differ in their angles and approaches of problems of Production and distribution of industry and development.
The large coastal plains and the cool sequestered inland valleys between Bengal and Tamilnad are populated by a

prolific race called Telugus or Andhras who may exceed three crores in number. Sullen and secluded, rough and forbiding Bay of Bengal protected them on the eastern side. Can they be hurdled into a single province ? The idea of a linguistic province is thirty years old when our ideas of a province were vague and remote, when the British authority in India was poised between the India minister in London and bureaucratic steal frame in India, when the regional language was confined to social life. After the departure of the British the province-idea has gained a dyna mic freshness. Now the formation of a province has become a most urgent problem and our supreme interest as

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province is the seat of power now. Decades ago the Andhra University began to function. Our High Schools and colleges work under affiliation with Madras University.
If we should build more colleges and schools we should have a seperate University which becomes possible when province and power are perched in our own hands. Freedom means power to orgnise resourses of wealth. The central federation is responsible for finance and currency and keeps credits with foreign banking.
-Prakasam's scheme is neither scientific nor acceptable to inland districts.
ora acoll
ambldo6. Pacts
If our pinchbeck dictator Prakasam is a master in tactics and expert in approaches, we need not be dismayed, when we organise ourselves and begin to depend on oursel ves he will come round to lead us. We need not be afraid of our friends who have dedicated their lives to some coastal Andhra leaders. These opportunists will never miss the bus.
When we had no real Power, we thought and spoke in terms of places. We made pacts with northern leaders

for mere places as in 'Sreebagh Pact', Now our enemies are those who want to settle the 'places' and those who accept weightage are no better than Harijans.
This moment for a seperate province will help us to become masters of our own destiny. We have to face our problems and situations directly without depending on cunning coastal Andhras. bas ets

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There is no altruism at the national level. It acts well in limited social life and best between individuals.
The era of Pacts is over and we refuse to compromise the future of our Posterity.
Vigilence is the life of democracy. Our people should learn their rights and duties and be watchful to cooperate in a spirit of service.
When we were in craven subservience to foreign power it made no difference whether we were under the Practical Tamilians or vociferous Andhras. We learnt a new way of Jife in struggle period. We lived in simplicity and with the sense of a cause to work and suffer for. We should not fight
There is no tract in India
the shy of the new Vision.
more resourceful and potential than Rayalseema and we have to work for it and the new way of life will take us to the right goal.
7. Anologies
Structurally the Andhra areas go into two provinces.
The plea for a single andhra Province scares away several Andhra areas now included in the Tamilnad.
Ten
The provincial states are run in Australia with 6 million populaton. A great nation of seven million people
Travancorein area
have lived in a district called Holland.
equal to one of our districts became a leading Province

with the magic power of freedom. Even before losing Sylhet Assam had five crores of Revenue; Adibasi districts in Behar want a seperate province; Cooch Behar may seperate in a few months. A strange phylosophy of limitations

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was preached by the learned Andhra orators when Orissa wanted a free life! When the threefold exploitation by the British, the Tamilians and coastal Andhras ends real Swaraj will reach the poor docile people of Rayalseema. Small provinces like Travancore, Baroda or Orissa are known to work better in a new deal than big provinces.
Swami Narayanananda Saraswathi,
• Inuito da Congress Organiser,
Bed Rayalseema
dilan jou binoda
W net pow
sibul ni do od af
asigolom A T
ivory ovi odel og sets and add from
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TRANSLATION

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153
(190
Resolution
157
Akkalkot Institute has merged with Mumbai province and the region is Solapur district
.. This institute has been added to Solapur district in Maharashtra for the following reasons.
Should be attached to
2) The historical tradition of the Akkalkot Institute was made long ago by Maharashtra
Solapur district has come to Solapur district.
Bagh is the only vision of all the visions, so the historical nor political relations can be merged.
No and now the dissolution is unholy
2) Civil in Akalkot Institute,
Full Solipu
Collector and Code of C.D. Walking towards and the king here was ignorant.
Solapur, the state of the state here, as the Collector Political Agent
Would have licked
2) From the establishment of the Akkalkot Institute +. His head
The relaxation was on the way and then it was Central Division Commissioner Nola
The flood -coalkeeper has also been monitored.
2) All the work of all the quotas in the Akkalkot Institute and all the work of Sham
It is from Marathi and the previous functioning records and charters are important and historical work.
Letters, etc., are from Marathi.
4) The language of the institution is from the previous Marathi language to the majority of the people Marathi
There are only speakers to read Kawadi, no one can read. Sun
Jamas and correspondence have long been going on from Marathi language

long ago
If a language, Kandi was really, VI's award

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The language would have been preserved, not the language of the Khuri, but Kamboo's Ni-Ni-
173
Why is the dialect of the dialect?
No
If Akkalkot Institute is connected to Kannada area, Survey Kados - Shotami Shotama
We have to learn and many of those problems arise and the oppression of the people is going to be unfair.
2) Akkalkot businessman Daksha Nam Solapur, Pune, Mumbai Vathre are on the city of Maharashtra.
They are behind the jaws that the railway +Rame is solel and close to the Solapur
Akkalkot's mouth trade is with Solapur, it is close to Alam and all vision
At the time of Nahami's time, the answer to all the help from Solapur easily.
U) Akalkot Institute Dosleic, cultural, geographical, historical, and Raj-
)
Now that Kiya has been associated with Solapur a long time ago, now
Way is a child, and with the help of a child, the life of the life will deteriorate.
Social
Considering Savate Yabi, Akkalkot Sansthan in Maharashtra
We have a definite taxation to join Solapur district
Demand is the demand
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